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LIFE OF EDWARD IRVING.*

EDWARD IRVING died in Glasgow, a victim of consumption, at the close of the year 1834. He had gone to the North on a mission, by order of his superiors in the new Catholic Apostolic Church, in which, though he had been so largely instrumental in its foundation, he yet held only a subordinate place. He had had to accept re-ordination in the spring of the year before, by the imposition of the hands of Mr. Cardale, one of the two new apostles, at the instigation of the voices of its prophets, as angel or chief pastor of the Newman-Street church; but he never became one of the gifted few, and prayed and waited in vain for the blessing of their inspiration. The records of his journey by the west of England and through Wales, to Liverpool, from which place he set sail for Scotland, are amongst the most interesting in this biography. His letters on the road, addressed to his wife and children, are very simple and natural, extremely characteristic of the affectionate disposition, open to all kindly influences, which neither his fanatical creed nor the strange circumstances through which his life had passed had been able to injure.

In the interval of nearly thirty years since his death, the great preacher and his agitated career have been almost forgotten, or he has been remembered chiefly by the popular association of his name with an obscure sect which repudiates the designation. It was fully time for some faithful and loving biographer to reinstate the credit of his benevolent and self-denying, though erratic character. It was only necessary to report the plain facts of his life in order to give the reader the image of a man of great power and of transparent sincerity, one to be respected and even venerated amidst his greatest errors. His defects lay on the surface of his nature; the elements of greatness were strangely commingled there with incongruous points of weakness. But in all that he was, he may be pronounced to have been genuine; and, for a man so narrow-minded and even bigoted, he was singularly sound at heart. Perhaps it was hardly possible for one who cared to exhibit at all the detailed biography of such a character, to be contented with the delivery of its "plain,

* The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London. By Mrs. Oliphant. London—Hurst and Blackett. 1862.

unvarnished tale." If Mrs. Oliphant assumes too much the position of an advocate, the fault may be pardoned in one who is ever willing to justify her hero from his own points of view, and does not seek to thrust upon him the responsibility of her private opinions. She speaks too often contemptuously, and sometimes bitterly, of his opponents. Justice to their memory is never thought of. This is the one great defect of her work, which in most other respects is a great and trying achievement. Her writing is admirable and very agreeable to read. She has written with so much love, care, and good sense, that the two volumes of this biography will certainly find a large and varied circle of admirers.

Mrs. Oliphant is careful to set her characters well in the history of the time. She generally does this for her chief hero in a masterly way. But it is somewhat overdone in the beginning of the book. Edward Irving was born in 1792, a troublous and critical time in the great world, which the revolutions in France had surprised into an absorbed and alarmed interest; and his biographer is tempted to notice this in its striking contrast with the unbroken and almost stagnant calmness of the Scottish country home-life of the period. It matters little to know either the place or the time at which the greatest of men first see the light. They bring their character with them, which after circumstances can only modify in its development, or alter the forms of its appearance. It is of more consequence to learn that Irving's father was a hardworking and honest tanner, and his mother the handsome daughter of a small landed proprietor in the neighbourhood of Annan, an active, cheerful, high-spirited woman.

"'Evangelicism,' said Edward Irving long after, 'has spoiled both the minds and bodies of the women of Scotland: there are no women now like my mother.' It is clear that no conventional manner of speech, thought or barrier of ecclesiastical proprieties unknown to nature had limited the mother of those eight Irvings, whom she brought up accordingly in all the freedom of a life almost rural, yet amid all the warm and kindly influences of a community of friends."

As a boy, Irving appears to have been more at home in the fields than amongst his books. He grew to be a man of gigantic frame and stature, as he had been distinguished in youth in athletic feats and sports of every kind. Mrs. Oliphant dispels the notion of anything about him at that time prematurely solemn or remarkable. The discipline of the parish schoolmaster under whom he was placed appears to have been severe, a circumstance which may have re-acted afterwards upon his own methods in teaching. Curious stories are told of his extreme severity towards his pupils when he had become himself a schoolmaster. It is strange to connect such early experiences and displays of character with all the ministerial devotion and fame of his after life.

Amongst his earliest companions was Hugh Clapperton, the

celebrated African traveller. They met in London afterwards, "both famous men; and the last communication sent to England by the dying traveller was addressed to his early friend." This intimacy may be remembered in connection with that restless love of excitement and change and adventure which created nearly all the romance of Irving's own career. It may have aided to give a direction to his thoughts and hopes which shews itself repeatedly in the course of those long, disappointed, early years which followed his preparation for the ministry. He seemed to long for the enterprize of a missionary career. He projected at one time a mission which he would undertake to Persia, passing first through Germany in order to acquire there the language in which he was to preach. He would have disdained both the support and the restraints of any Society's committee at home: his idea was to go like a primitive apostle, without scrip or purse, ready for any hardship or sacrifice, in the simple trust of the promised protection of Providence, preaching from place to place wherever men might be found to hear him. Several times in his life he thus converted journeys of business or pleasure into apostolic visitations, in the precise manner which he would have desired to adopt abroad. It is impossible not to feel interested in this working of religious habits and aspirations in very natural harmony with his simplicity of nature, his open-heartedness to strangers, and his early love of out-door exercises and adventures. Of missionary colonies and rules of government and necessary compromises of prudence he had no conception; and when in after years he was invited as the most popular preacher in London to deliver the annual sermon for the London Missionary Society, he terrified its directors and scandalized the religious world exceedingly by the line of thought which his discourse developed. Instead of hearing the usual complimentary strain of remark on "what God had wrought" by their instrumentality among the heathen, they had to listen, in a service of three and a half long and trying hours, to a description of the true apostolic missionary, which was one continued rebuke of all their politic ways, a censure from beginning to end, attributing their real want of any success worth naming to the faithless and temporizing ways in which they set about the work.

The idea of taking Germany on his missionary road to Persia was probably due to Thomas Carlyle, whose own aspirations had already set in that direction. The influence of this distinguished man upon a nature so susceptible as Irving's must have been considerable. He was a later pupil in the same school, and in Edinburgh afterwards they appear to have been much together. In the intimacy of college friendship they would discuss all subjects freely, and the dissatisfaction with the existing churches which diverted the well-known author from the profession of the ministry in Scotland, must have been often a subject of talk

between them. Carlyle discovered in the German theology and literature the future life-spring of his course of thought: to him the docile reception of Scottish orthodoxy was henceforth impossible; but it is extremely touching to remark in what faithful friendship the two contrasted men continued to the last. The noblest tribute of respect and love which has ever been framed by one man at the death of another who had been so long and variously known, was written by Thomas Carlyle to the memory of Edward Irving.

It was at the age of thirteen that Irving became a student at Edinburgh, and he took his degree there, four years afterwards, in 1809. This was the early, flourishing period of the Edinburgh Review, and Mrs. Oliphant cannot help remarking how little the new stir of political and literary life to which this publication led affected the obscure fortunes of one who was afterwards to become so celebrated. He went away, in 1810, to become, at eighteen, the master of a school at Haddington, to which he had been recommended by Sir John Leslie and Professor Christison. He had been only one session at the "divinity hall." The rest of his theological training he had to gain in a somewhat exceptional way in the capacity of what was called a "partial" student, dependent chiefly for his successful examinations upon the labour of private reading. He used to give private lessons to the daughter of Dr. Welsh, the chief medical man of the district, and lived in terms of intimacy with the best society of the place. It is of this period that the author writes:

"The main quality in himself which struck observers was,—in strong and strange contradiction to the extreme devotion of *belief* manifested in his latter years,—the critical and almost sceptical tendency of his mind, impatient of superficial 'received truths,' and eager for proof and demonstration of everything. Perhaps mathematics, which then reigned paramount in his mind, were to blame; he was as anxious to discuss, to prove and disprove, as a Scotch student fresh from college is naturally disposed to be. It was a peculiarity natural to his age and condition; and as his language was always inclined to the superlative, and his feelings invariably took part in every matter which commended itself to his mind, it is probable that this inclination shewed with a certain exaggeration to surrounding eyes. 'This youth will scrape a hole in everything he is called on to believe,' said the doctor,—a strange prophecy, looking at it by that light of events which unfolds so many unthought-of meanings in all predictions."

It is also said of him about this time that he was in the habit of broaching at the frequent social meetings of Haddington "some of his singular opinions about the high destinies of the human race in heaven, where the saints were not only to be made 'kings and priests unto God,' but were to rule and judge angels." His answer under the rebuke of a senior minister for the pursuit of such high and unpractical speculations was quite

characteristic of Irving. It was substantially the same reply with which in subsequent years he met objections to the spirit manifestations: "Dare either you or I deprive God of the glory and thanks due to his name for this exceeding great reward?" It never occurred to him to observe that it was a simple question of interpretation. To refuse his opinion was to dishonour the Almighty!

From Haddington, at the end of two years, he removed to Kirkcaldy on the Firth of Forth, to undertake the charge of a new school for both sexes of a somewhat higher character than the parish school already established there. Here he continued for seven years.

"Both French and Italian, in addition to the steadier routine of Latin and mathematics, seem to have been attempted by the ardent young teacher; and his own class read Milton with him, learning large portions of *Paradise Lost* by heart. . . . Altogether a system of education of a lofty, optimist character, quite as rare and unusual in the present day as at that time. It is said that one of his older pupils came on one occasion to this same Milton class before the arrival of her companions, and on reaching the door of the class-room, found Irving alone, reciting to himself one of the speeches of Satan, with so much emphasis and so gloomy a countenance, that the terrified girl, unable to conceal her fright, fled precipitately."

It was one of his pupils in this school, the eldest daughter of the parish minister, that Irving many years afterwards married. The Rev. John Martin, her father, was of the party called "wild" or "highfliers," to distinguish them from the majority of the time in the Church of Scotland, the "moderates," of the school which the Autobiography of Dr. Carlyle, of Inveresk, has lately made better known. The association with this family may be supposed to have decided Irving's place among the "pietists" of the Scottish Church. He was always much influenced by those about him whom he could regard with love and reverence. Of this feminine cast of his mind his biographer seems little aware. She finds in him so much to love, that she can never really pass a critical judgment upon him.

In 1815, he was licensed to preach, having passed the necessary trials and examinations; but his early efforts were decidedly unsuccessful. He was "too grand," the people said; and he never lost this tendency to the bad taste of magniloquence. For three years further he continued to teach in Kirkcaldy, only occasionally preaching, and never with any great acceptance; but the drudgery became at last too irksome, and in 1818 he abandoned it and returned to live a short academical life in Edinburgh. Here, while attending certain classes in the college, he burned all his old sermons and resolved to make a fresh beginning.

"Warmed and stimulated by his own experience, he began to write

sermons to himself,—that impatient, vehement hearer, whose character and intelligence none of the other preachers had studied. Perhaps in the midst of all the modern outcry against sermons, the preachers of the world might adopt Irving's method with advantage. While he wrote, he had always in his eye that brilliant, dissatisfied, restless listener, among the side pews in Kirkcaldy church. He knew to a hair's breadth what that impatient listener wanted,—how much he could bear,—how he could be interested, edified or disgusted. I have no doubt, it was one of the greatest secrets of his after power; and that the sweet breath of popular applause, pleasant though it might have been, would have injured the genius which, in silence and unacceptableness, and dire, prolonged experiment of other people's preaching, came to be its own perennial hearer,—the first and deepest critic of its own powers."

All his efforts, however, seemed as yet vain. No offer of preferment is made, until in an almost dramatic fashion he is invited to preach in the principal church in Edinburgh, with the great Dr. Chalmers amongst his hearers, who is understood to be seeking an assistant. He preaches and is complimented, but nothing comes of it; and he will go to Persia, or home, or anywhere, sick at heart of the hope so long deferred. This was in the year 1819. In a caprice of desperation he went to Belfast, and wandered on foot, as he loved to do, over the north of Ireland, "finding shelter in the wayside cottages, sharing the potato and the milk which formed the peasant's meal." Returning to civilized existence, he found awaiting him a letter from Dr. Chalmers, inviting him to come to Glasgow. When he was proposed as assistant minister, he is reported to have said to the Doctor, "I will preach to them if you think fit; but if they bear with my preaching, they will be the first people who have borne with it." "He was generally well liked, but some people thought him rather flowery. However, they were satisfied that he must be a good preacher, since Dr. Chalmers had chosen him."

Unordained as yet, and living for two years and a half under the shadow of a great reputation which obscured for the present all promise of his own, Irving acquired in the parish of St. John's, the St. Giles' of Glasgow, a singular experience of the working of religious faith among the poor three hundred families, which in a season of peculiar and threatening distress it was his special duty to visit. He used to go amongst them with the solemn, apostolic manner which it seemed quite natural for him to assume. When he passed their thresholds he would invariably say, "Peace be to this house;" and he placed his hands upon the heads of the children to bless them. He always held a very high conception of the importance and dignity of the ministerial office, and his faith in the value of scriptural formulas was amongst his marked peculiarities.

It was in this parish that Dr. Chalmers was now engaged in testing his well-known theories of the superior efficiency of vo-

luntary relief to any system of compulsory poor-laws. Mrs. Oliphant gives an interesting account of the experiment, but the chief value of it in this biography naturally arises from the position into which Irving was thus brought in relationship with his great patron. It is pleasant to see throughout the remainder of his life with what friendly feeling the greater man regarded his younger and eccentric brother, notwithstanding the fears which he was perpetually compelled to entertain of what his hasty, imprudent temper might lead to. The biographer is widely at fault, we cannot but think, in the severe judgments she insinuates against Chalmers, because he was not enthusiastic, like herself, in his admiration of the wild ways of his assistant.

“‘Irving’s preaching,’ said Dr. Chalmers, evidently not with any very great admiration of it, ‘is like Italian music, appreciated only by connoisseurs.’ But he does not hesitate to compare the influence of his assistant, on another and more cordial occasion, to a special magnetic spell, which went to the very hearts of those susceptible to it, though it fell blank upon the unimpressible multitude. On the whole, Dr. Chalmers’ opinion of him is the opinion of one who only half understands, and does not more than half sympathize with, a character much less broad, but in some respects more elevated than his own. A certain impatience flashes into the judgment. The statesman and philosopher watches the poet-enthusiast with a doubtful, troubled, half-amused, half-sad perplexity; likes him, yet does not know what he would be at; is embarrassed by his warm love, praise, and gratitude; vexed to see him commit himself; impatient of what he himself thinks credulity, vanity, waste of power; but never without a sober, regretful affection for the bright, unsteady light that could not be persuaded to shine only in its proper lantern. This sort of admiring, indulgent, affectionate half-comprehension, is apparent throughout the whole intercourse of these two great men. That Chalmers was the greater intellect of the two I do not attempt to question; nor yet that he was in all practical matters the more eminent and serviceable man; that Irving had instinctive comprehensions and graces, which went high over the head of his great contemporary, seems to me as evident as the other conclusion.”

The reader will judge according to his own views and turn of mind. We confess that on every occasion in which this biography presents the two in any sort of divided judgment, we cannot avoid taking sides with “the greater intellect,” as against “the poet-enthusiast.” If the following of imagination is to lead a man so invariably and even deplorably wrong, it is not easy to see its high desert of praise. It may have its compensations for the man himself, but to others it must ever seem a wasteful and weak distinction.

The idea which a man like Chalmers held of Irving throughout his course is in itself worth recording, though the biographer presents it always with an air of fretful dissatisfaction. Soon after his settlement over the Caledonian church in Hatton

Garden, Dr. Chalmers preached for him a kind of ordination sermon, and he writes about him thus :

“ ‘He is prospering in his new situation, and seems to feel as if in that very station of command and congeniality whereunto you have long known him to aspire. I hope that he will not hurt his usefulness by any kind of eccentricity or imprudence.’ In these odd and characteristic words, Dr. Chalmers, always a little impatient and puzzled even in his kindest moments about a man so undeniably eminent, yet so entirely unlike himself, dismisses Irving, and proceeds upon his statistical inquiries.”

The author's comment is certainly more singular than the writer's careful and friendly fears. In 1827, Dr. Chalmers came again to preach at the opening of the church in Regent Square. This was about five years after. He writes as follows to his wife :

“ *Thursday*.—Irving and I went to Bedford Square. Mr. and Mrs. Montague took us out in their carriage to Highgate, where we spent three hours with the great Coleridge. His conversation flowed in a mighty, unremitting stream. You know that Irving sits at his feet, and drinks in the inspiration of every syllable that falls from him. There is a secret, and, to me, unintelligible communion of spirit between them, on the ground of a certain German mysticism, and transcendental lake poetry which I am not yet up to. *Friday*.—Mr. Irving conducted the preliminary services in the National Church. There was a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayers—forty minutes; and, altogether, it was an hour and a half from the commencement of the service ere I began. . . . Irving certainly errs in the outrunning of sympathy.”

The congregation, it should be remembered, had been waiting most of them for three hours before the service began, in their eagerness to secure their seats. The biographer is somewhat sarcastic upon the great Doctor in regard to this sensible impatience. Irving always held out for the liberty of prophesying to the length of two hours and a half, and his people, it seems, were used to it.

“ On the following Saturday, he records that ‘Mr. Gordon informed me that yesternight Mr. Irving preached on his prophecies at Hackney chapel for two hours and a half; and though very powerful, yet the people were dropping away. I really fear lest his prophecies, and the excessive length and weariness of his services, may unship him altogether, and I mean to write to him seriously on the subject.’ . . . With dissatisfied and doubtful eyes, the celebrated Scotch preacher contemplated the apparently brilliant and encouraging position of his friend. The practicable, which did not trouble Irving, was strongly present in the mind of Chalmers. He, with both feet planted steadily on the common soil, cast a troubled eye upon the soaring spirit which scorned the common restraints of possibility. He shakes his head as he tells his wife of the mingled fascination and imprudence visible to himself in this incomprehensible man. Chalmers, too, was capable of following

one idea with the most absorbing enthusiasm; but his ideas were those of statesmanship, practicable and to be worked out; and with the eyes of a wisdom which, if not worldly, was at least substantial, and fully aware of all the restrictions of humanity, he looked on doubtfully at a man who calculated no possibilities, and who estimated the capacities of human nature, not from among the levels of ordinary life, but from the mountain top of his own elevated and impassioned spirit."

Three years afterwards they met again; but Irving was now already under the cloud which gradually settled down upon his closing years. He had been charged with heresy, and was becoming rapidly intoxicated with visions of the second advent. They went, as before, on a visit to Coleridge.

"Now the two elder men watched the younger with regret, amazement, and impatience, equal to their mutual incomprehension. He had left the calm regions of philosophy far apart and behind. He had left the safe limits of ecclesiastical restraint. The divine and the philosopher gazed at him with a certain mournful admiration and affectionate anger. Coleridge poured out 'an eloquent tribute of his regard' into the ear of Chalmers, 'mourning pathetically that such a man should be throwing himself away.'"

It is right to add here the continuation of this passage, if only as an example of many pages of eloquent and impassioned writing which Mrs. Oliphant devotes to the defence and honour of Edward Irving.

"They did not comprehend, neither the one nor the other, that nothing in this palpitating human world could be abstract to that passionate, splendid, human soul; that it was as truly his mission to render up love and life, to break his heart, and end his days in conflict with the shows of things, and vehement protestation for the reality, as it was theirs to dream, to ponder, to legislate, to abide the bloodless encounters of argument and thought. They watched him going on to his passion and agony, with wondering hopes that advice and remonstrance might yet save him; unperceiving that the agony and passion by which this man was to prove the devotion of a loyal heart to his Master's name and person, and unspeakable certainty of spiritual verities, was indeed the true object and purpose of his life."

This is in other language the substance of Carlyle's well-known Fraser article, written just after Irving's death. Later in the year Irving visited Chalmers, who writes,—

"‘We parted from each other with great cordiality, after a prayer which he himself offered with great pathos and piety.’ So the two made everlasting farewells, so far as this world was concerned, and parted in life, spirit, and career, each retaining a longing love for the other. The friendship of Chalmers, which was not strong enough to draw him personally into the conflict, or to give him any sympathetic understanding of the entire devotion with which Irving abrogated reason itself, in obedience to what he believed the voice of God, was yet enough to raise him above the vulgar lamentations which broke forth at Irving's death over his misused talents and sacrificed life. The

great Scotch divine knew well that his friend's life was not wasted; and with cumbrous but grand phraseology, and a labouring of tears in his voice, made that eulogium of 'the Christian grafted upon the old Roman,' by which he acknowledged his consciousness, notwithstanding separation and estrangement, of this primitive, heroic soul."

In order to bring into a single view the scattered expressions of Dr. Chalmers' judgment of Irving, the history of his career in London has been anticipated. He began preaching in the metropolis in 1822, and before the year was over the tide of his popularity had set in.

"The immediate origin of Irving's popularity, or rather of the flood of noble and fashionable hearers who poured in upon the little chapel in Hatton Garden all at once, without warning or premonition, is said to have been a speech of Canning's. Sir James Macintosh had been by some unexpected circumstance led to hear the new preacher, and heard Irving in his prayer describe an unknown family of orphans belonging to the obscure congregation, as now 'thrown upon the Fatherhood of God.' The words seized upon the mind of the philosopher, and he repeated them to Canning, who 'started,' as Macintosh relates, and, expressing great admiration, made an instant engagement to accompany his friend to the Scotch church on the following Sunday. Shortly after, a discussion took place in the House of Commons, in which the revenues of the church were referred to, and the necessary mercantile relation between high talent and good *pay* insisted upon. No doubt it suited the statesman's purpose to instance, on the other side of the question, the little Caledonian chapel and its new preacher. Canning told the House that, so far from universal was this rule, that he himself had lately heard a Scotch minister, trained in one of the most poorly endowed of churches, and established in one of her outlying dependencies, possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon that he had ever listened to. The curiosity awakened by this speech is said to have been the first beginning of that invasion of 'society' which startled Hatton Garden out of itself."

It was, however, by no such accident, in Irving's own conception of the matter, that the great world came thus to his audience. If the world would not hear, it had been, he thought, the fault of the preachers, who had not studied properly how to address them. He came to London with enormous expectations, and bearing, as he believed, a commission to shew how preaching should be done. He said as much as this in the preface to his *Orations* which he published in the following year. Of course he was immediately assailed from all directions, and, as his manner was, he repelled the attacks of his opponents in a tone of defiance which was very far from representing the true, loving spirit that was in him. This was one of the many contradictions of his nature, and it helped greatly to mislead opinion respecting him: though a man of the gentlest impulses, he always proved himself too prompt in self-defence. It was in this year that he brought home his wife, who, happily for his comfort, believed in

and with him to the last. In 1824, he preached the missionary sermon which brought him into angry collision with the party which "calls itself," as he said, "the religious world." He published this sermon afterwards, with a dedication to Coleridge, in which he says to him, "You have been more profitable to my faith in orthodox doctrine, to my spiritual understanding of the Word of God, and to my right conception of the Christian church, than any or all the men with whom I have entertained friendship and conversation." On this matter Charles Lamb says in a letter,

"I have got acquainted with Mr. Irving, the Scotch preacher, whose fame must have reached you. Judge how his own sectarists must stare when I tell you, he has dedicated a book to S. T. C., acknowledging to have learnt more from him than from all the men he ever conversed with. He is a most amiable, sincere, modest man in a room, this Boanerges in the temple. Mrs. Montagu told him the dedication would do him no good. 'That shall be a reason for doing it,' was his answer. The kind Elia adds, 'Judge, now, whether this man be a quack.'"

The next great point of interest in connection with Irving's London career appears in 1825, when he began to preach upon unfulfilled prophecy. He had learned, it seems, from Coleridge to regard the world's conversion as hopeless without some further and great manifestation of power from on high, and becoming acquainted with Mr. Hartley Frere, an enthusiastic student in the prophecies, he began to turn his attention to the subject of the second advent. About the same period he lost his first child, a trial which manifestly affected him through the remaining years of his life. The two events stood closely connected in his own recollection, as appears from the following passage in the preface to *Ben Ezra*, a treatise on the prophecies, of which he had made a translation from the Spanish:

"Whoso studieth as I have done, and reflecteth as I have sought to reflect, upon the first twelve months of a child; whoso hath had such a child to look and reflect upon, as the Lord for fifteen months did bless me withal (whom I would not recall, if a wish could recall him, from the enjoyment and service of our dear Lord), will rather marvel how the growth of that wonderful creature, which put forth such a glorious bud of being, should come to be so cloaked by the flesh, cramped by the world, and cut short by Satan, as not to become a winged seraph; will rather wonder that such a puny, heartless, feeble thing as manhood, should be the abortive fruit of the rich bud of childhood, than think that childhood is an imperfect promise and opening of the future man. And therefore it is that I grudged not our noble, lovely child, but rather do delight that such a seed should blossom and bear in the kindly and kindred paradise of my God. And why should not I speak of thee, my Edward! seeing it was in the season of thy sickness and death the Lord did reveal in me the knowledge and hope and desire of his Son from heaven! Glorious exchange! He took my son to his own more fatherly bosom, and revealed in my bosom the sure expectation and

faith of his own eternal Son ! Dear season of my life, ever to be remembered, when I knew the sweetness and fruitfulness of such joy and sorrow."

Before this publication was issued, Irving had assisted at a six days' conference of prophetic students at Albury Park, in Surrey, the residence of Henry Drummond, the late Member of Parliament, who became afterwards one of the two apostles of the spiritualist church. Joseph Wolff was there, and Hugh M'Neile. This was in 1826, the year before the opening of the Regent-Square church, at which time the great world suddenly ceased to trouble itself about Edward Irving. The chief interest of his remaining life is connected with prophetic developments.

"The solemnity of the meeting, the importance which all its members felt to attach to it, and the evident curiosity it awakened, make it of itself a remarkable incident in the history of its time. That time was clearly a time of expectation. An age of great events was just over, and the public mind had not yet accustomed itself to the domestic calm. At home, the internal economy of the country was swelling with great throes—agonies in which many people saw prognostics most final and fatal. Out of all the visible chaos, what a joyful, magnificent deliverance to believe,—through whatsoever anguish the troubled but short interval might pass,—that the Lord was coming visibly to confound his enemies and vindicate his people ! No wonder they assembled at Albury to build themselves up in that splendid hope ; no wonder the empire thrilled, through some thoughtful and many believing minds, at the mere name of such an expectation ; least wonder of all, that a mind always so lofty and attuned to high emotions as that of Irving, should have given itself over to the contemplation ; or should shortly begin to cast wistful looks over all the world, not only for prophecies fulfilled, but for signs approaching, watching the gleams upon the horizon which should herald the advent of the Lord."

The Albury meeting became an annual one, and Irving from this time lived and laboured in expectation of a speedy "second coming." He went to Edinburgh in 1828, to deliver twelve lectures on the Apocalypse. They were given at the early hour of six o'clock in the morning to facilitate the attendance of the Scottish clergy, who were at the time in General Assembly. The excitement was enormous, and the largest churches in which he lectured were overflowed. Dr. Chalmers writes of him at this time,—

"For the first time, I have no hesitation in saying, it is quite woeful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but withal a mysterious and extreme allegorization, which I am sure must be pernicious to the general cause. He sent me a letter he had written to the King on the Test, &c., and begged that I would read every word of it before I spoke. I did so, and found it unsatisfactory and obscure, but not half so much so as his sermon."

The allusion here is to the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, in his opposition to which, as well as to all the

ameliorations of past bigotry for which the liberal party of the time were striving, Irving was simply frantic. Mysticism is always conservative, as it is invariably dogmatic. It hates the light of any liberty but its own. And Irving was a perfect mystic. Liberalism was to him the work of Satan. It irritated and troubled him, for he could see that it tended to undermine everywhere the weak foundations of his own wilful and credulous faith. Mrs. Oliphant explains his political peculiarities in a rather singular manner, without appearing at all aware that what she advances in his defence reduces to the lowest point the value of opinions which nevertheless on all occasions he strenuously put forward, and not seldom with all the vehemence of an added theological bitterness.

“He was one of those men of inconsistent politics, governed at once by prejudice and sympathies, whose ‘attitude’ it is impossible to foretell; and of whom one can only predict that their political opinions will take the colour given by their heart; and that the side most strongly and feelingly set forth before them will undoubtedly carry the day. His nature was profoundly conservative; and yet the boldest innovation might have secured his devoted support, had it approved itself to his individual thoughts. His political opinions, indeed, seem to have been such as are common to literary men, artists, and women, entirely unconnected with politics, and who only now and then find themselves sufficiently interested to inform themselves upon public matters. Accordingly, he appears in after-life in strong opposition to every measure known as *liberal*.”

In one who identified the Pope with the scarlet woman of the Apocalypse, opposition to the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities is conceivable; but it is not easy to see how either heart or judgment could have had much to do with Irving's strong opinion that the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was a deed of national wickedness. Mrs. Oliphant, with all her admiration of him, can never get rid of the conviction that he was a phenomenon which needs explanation. She has to follow him into regions of mystic thought and experience where few biographers would have cared to venture. But what he maintained upon such plain questions as come within the range of politics, the commonest appreciation can understand, and it goes far to shew what was the true character of his acute and ingenious but ill-balanced and wilful mind.

Another influence begins now to affect him, which his biographer represents as having had much to do with bringing about what she also regards as the great and final catastrophe of Irving's singular life. When “the voices” of the Spirit were heard, he was prepared to listen to them in unquestioning faith, not only from a predilection of temperament, always, as she says, “more ready to believe the miraculous than the common;” nor as a natural consequence of the condition of enthusiastic expect-

tation into which he had passed as a student in millennial prophecy; but the definite conviction appears to have been reasoned into him, that such things were to be prayed and hoped and looked for. He had invited to London as his assistant Mr. Alexander Scott, now of Owens' College, Manchester, a licentiate at that time in the National Scotch Church. To him Irving himself attributed the formation of this conviction in his mind. It was he also who, in working upon the mind of Mary Campbell to the same effect, the first of the possessed women who were thought to "speak with other tongues," "bent all his powers," Mrs. Oliphant says, "to laying this splendid train of mischief."

"Mary Campbell seems to have been possessed of gifts of mind and temperament scarcely inferior to genius, and with all the personal fascination of beauty added to the singular position in which her sister's fame had left her,—visited on terms of admiring friendship by people much superior to her in external rank, and doubtless influenced by the subtle arguments of one of the ablest men of the day,—it is impossible to imagine a situation more dangerous to a young, fervid, and impressionable imagination."

It was in 1830 that the extraordinary "gifts" were first manifested in the person of this young woman: in the following year they appeared in the Regent-Square church, and drove the minister out of it. In the mean time Mr. Scott had been for some time his fellow-labourer in that place. Mrs. Oliphant speaks of him in a singular, puzzled, respectful, yet complaining tone.

"That powerful and singular spirit had been [since 1828] his close companion and fellow-workman; and had not occupied that place without influencing the open and candid heart of his leader. I do not know what thread of unity ran through Mr. Scott's beliefs at this time, and gave his faith coherence. All that is outwardly apparent of him through the long vista of years is a determined resistance to every kind of external limitation, and fastidious rejection of all ecclesiastical boundary for his thoughts, combined with a power of impressing other minds around him, not only with his own marvellous powers of understanding, but with his profound spirituality and perception of divine things. To a man of so questioning and unsatisfied a mind, slow to believe what anybody told him, and apparently rather stimulated to contradiction than to reverence by the utterances of authority, the hope of direct communications from heaven afforded, no doubt, a gleam of possible deliverance out of the ever-increasing problems and perplexities of life and thought. It was an idea which, already, in a kind of grand prophetic reverie, had crossed the mind of Irving. So far back as 1828, he himself says, he had become convinced that the spiritual gifts so largely bestowed upon the apostolic age of Christianity were not exceptional, or for one period alone, but belonged to the church of all ages, and had only been kept in abeyance by the absence of faith. Yet with the lofty reasonableness and moderation of genius, even when treading in a sphere beyond reason, Irving concluded that these unclaimed and unexercised supernatural endowments, which had died out of use so

long, would be restored only at the time of the Second Advent, in the miraculous reign, of which they would form a fitting adjunct. Such had been his idea for some time, when the restless soul beside him began to work upon this germ of faith."

It is added elsewhere, that Mr. Scott, "obeying his fastidious instincts, as might have been predicted of him, afterwards rejected the phenomena which his own exertions had shaped into being." But belief, in the mind of Irving, took strong root. He had always inclined to such a personal faith in what are called "special providences," that the belief in other possible manifestations of miraculous interference was easy. The case of Miss Fancourt, in London, occurred in 1830. It was an instance to his mind of the miraculous power of prayer, a thing in which he had long believed, so far at least as facts permitted. A single text from the Scriptures had been always a sufficient basis upon which to erect his most extraordinary expectations, and at last it came to this point of what, in most men, would be considered presumption if they entertained such a thought, that he was prepared to stake the character of the Divine Being himself upon a certain issue of a certain prayer which he had importunately preferred. The alternative appeared to him inevitable. He and others met to pray for the fulfilment of the promise of the Spirit. If it came not, then was God faithless to his word,—which was impossible; therefore the answer had come; and this was it,—a few rare and odd cases of cures, and a confused medley of voices in the church. It was no wonder that Scott rejected what it was quite as natural for Irving, even logically after his own fashion, to believe. His own description of the voices is worth transcribing in full. It is a fair example of his usual style; and whatever may be thought of the small weight to be attached to the opinion upon such things formed by an enthusiastic mind on grounds like those just indicated, the passage may be held to prove that his belief in the voices was no insanity: it was rather the proper issue of the mystic, pietist principles of interpretation and religious experience in which he had been brought up. There were and are hundreds of believers whose faith trembles constantly on the verge of similar extravagance, instructed as they are to fear or condemn, in deference to a so-called pious sentiment, the divine faculty of reason. If to Irving it be conceded that he might reasonably believe the voices to be from heaven, he certainly writes about them in a tone of sufficiently cool rhetoric.

"The whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power, and strength, and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from that of the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and, I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit after a manner which I have

never felt. There is a march, and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard; some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and art exhibited at the oratorios in the concerts of ancient music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likeliest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service, insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive church. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or a shorter period, sometimes occupying only a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deeply felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker is manifestly much moved to tears, and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy, and mirth, and exultation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly formed, well-proportioned, deeply felt discourse, which evidently wanteth *only the ear of him whose native tongue it is*, to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech."

This was just the difficulty,—to find the person whose native tongue it happened to be. Mary Campbell believed her tongue to be that of the Pelew islands, "which indeed," as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, "was a safe statement, and little likely to be authoritatively disputed." As to the sons of Belial who demanded to be confronted with some such native before they would believe the tongues to have any meaning at all, it should be observed that at the head of them was Thomas Carlyle and nearly the whole body of Mr. Irving's best and longest friends. He treated them all as Gentiles and despisers, enemies of the work of God's Spirit. His biographer should not imply so sad reproach of them, that they could not stand by him, but only mourned and remonstrated against this tending of blind wilfulness towards what the great writer would call inevitable bedlam and chaos. She herself admits that when it came to speeches in the vernacular, there was nothing in them to justify any one's believing that such rapid and pointless exclamations could possibly have been a divine voice.

As a subject of curiosity we may reproduce an utterance of Mr. Drummond's at the opening of the new church in Newman Street. He was a man who uttered many foolish things in Parliament, but the sarcastic wit with which he said them is wanting in this example of the Spirit. Mr. Irving's sermon was ended, and he was merely giving notices about the fourteen weekly services which were to be held, when the voice thus

broke forth. A single specimen shall amply suffice; there is no need to add ridicule to the name of the great and good, but narrow and mistaken preacher, whose better memory Mrs. Oliphant has worthily uplifted by shewing how infinitely the honourable and loving man was above the deluded divine. Thus the Spirit speaks in Henry Drummond:

"Ah, be ye warned! be ye warned! Ye have been warned. The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of your enemies. Ah, look you well to it! The city shall be builded—ah! every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load—each under his load; but see that ye build with one hand, and with a weapon in the other. Look to it—look to it. Ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat; the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah! confederate, confederate, confederate with the Horonite! Ah! look ye to it, look ye to it!"

On this kind of rock was built "the Catholic and Apostolic Church," dating from the year 1832. The "voices" organized it, and the "Spirit" was thus made to regulate its minutest appointments. Edward Irving was henceforth the patient slave of every apostolic intimation, and it was at the bidding of others that, against the wiser counsels of his physician, he went to the north to die.

But, several years before his disruption and ejection from the National Scottish Church, and while no dream of justifiable heretical charges had ever entered his mind, he had been subjected to various ecclesiastical censures which require to be treated apart. The London Presbytery finally passed sentence upon him on account of the "voices" disturbing the Scottish order of service; but he had before been called to account by them, on the charge of heresy on which he was at last expelled by the Presbytery of Annan which had ordained him. The subject was the human nature of our Lord, which Irving declared to have been capable of sinning, though kept always from the commission of sin by the Holy Spirit within him. He was truly tempted, though he always overcame the temptation. It was the nature of man *after* the fall which the Son of Man took to redeem. It will be proper to add to our rapid sketch of his life some remarks on the general character of Irving's theological faiths and teaching.

To the philosophic reader perhaps the chief interest in his life is to be found in the study of character which it affords, and in its striking illustration of the natural results which follow from the popular creeds when they are logically held and adhered to in practice by one who is not satisfied to profess in belief what he cannot carry out in action. The conventional faith of ecclesiastical traditions seemed to Edward Irving a mockery of sacred things. He was resolved to live by ideas and theories which most of his fellow-believers maintained rather as church badges

and subjects of talk than as affording principles for the common conduct of life. With this ambition to be true and thorough, attended by his extreme confidence in the power of the truth so held and so advanced to effect great things in the world, a man of strong will, self-conscious and self-asserting, often to a degree of presumption, would be certain to make his influence felt; at the same time he would put to a severe proof whatever views and principles he might happen to hold. He was, we venture to observe, an example, presented in strong lights, but yet a fair example, of the necessary fanatical issues of orthodoxy when logically and honestly carried out. For he was an unquestioning believer in the doctrines of the National Scottish Church. It was these which formed the rule of his life; and therefore, being by temperament restless and impatient, and in disposition eager to rule and anxious to be doing good, he was from very early life a preacher of repentance and reformation. He could never understand the continued allowance of shams and abuses, and the practical rule of expediency which defended them, after they had been plainly exposed and condemned as wrong. He found it very hard to endure that other men should not have been as full of zeal as himself to live exactly in accordance with their church professions. He was besides an essentially intolerant man,—not perhaps in heart, for he was a man of almost angelic kindness of disposition,—but certainly in thought and will he was exclusive and untolerating. If he thought a thing wicked, it *was* wicked, and so were all they who sanctioned it. Such a man would strive for reforms in the pure conservative sense of bringing people back to the practice of the old faith which he upheld. With the Bible in his hand, which his own strong impressions seemed to give him a commission to interpret to other minds, he regarded himself as a kind of semi-prophet. He judged and denounced and exhorted, like an ancient seer. The world was everywhere and always wrong,—even the religious world, tested by his standards,—and he was raised up to warn them. He could find satisfaction nowhere, as might be expected from his habit of never looking at things as other people looked, and of pronouncing upon all according to such conformity or otherwise in them as could appear to his observation with the literal law which he held the Scriptures to supply. This chronic dissatisfaction with the existing state of things had an important influence upon his whole life. He never could reconcile his church experiences with the immense hopes he gathered from the literal Scriptures. He seemed to be always waiting for some great fulfilment which was destined never to come. From dreams of missionary labours, with which, in 1824, he startled the religious public, he went on, in 1825, to the prophecies, which, as his principles interpreted them, landed him, in 1831, every reader knows in what wild region of eccentric spiritual manifestations.

It was another noticeable phase of his theological experience that he admitted modifications in his religious views. Such variation originated in the simple desire which he had always felt to make his faith a reality. It was so much development of thought proceeding from the influence of fact and increasing knowledge. Had his life continued, it is impossible to say with what beliefs it might have ended. It is certain that at the time of his death, while thoroughly orthodox in feeling, he was already far removed from any recognized standard of orthodox conception. He could not see this. He never admitted the fact. In his view it was the church that had become unorthodox, not himself; and he was as ready to denounce the whole evangelical body as having departed from the faith, as he had been to astound Exeter Hall with his denunciations of its unapostolic, worldly missionary policy. But it is worth considering for a moment what were his peculiar theological opinions, and in what way he came to hold them.

He was a Puritan of the old covenanting type; this is the simple and sufficient explanation of his whole theological life. He held firmly to the literal belief of the Scriptures. He was once about to visit a dying man, but he came back to invite the company of another, remembering, as he said, that the words were, "If *two* of you shall agree to ask anything, it shall be done for them." This childish enslavement to the letter his biographer celebrates in the following terms:

"It was for this sublime reason, holding the promise as if it had been audibly spoken to himself, that the Christian priest turned back to call the other, whose brotherhood of faith he was assured of, to hold their faithful Master to his word."

These are grand words to apply to a mode of scripture reading which had in this man's life, as it inevitably must have if faithfully adhered to, such deplorable results. The text concerning the saving of the sick by the prayer of faith was another which he had constantly present to his mind. He believed that his wife had been once so cured, as also himself from an attack of cholera. It became at last a kind of settled principle in the belief of his followers that disease was in itself a something sinful, which ought to be resisted by believing prayer. Their interpretation of the prophecies and of the other promises as to gifts of the Spirit was no more than a natural sequence to these trivialities of literalism. They were, as we have seen, the fitting development of the precise views of the Bible which "the religious world" professes still to hold.

Of Irving's belief in baptismal regeneration, which it was his chief comfort to reflect upon after the sad loss of his eldest child, the Church of Scotland appeared to take no notice. Neither was he molested for the support which he gave to Mr. Campbell, who was ejected by the Assembly for preaching that Christ died

as the expression of God's love for all men. Mrs. Oliphant relates a striking anecdote of the use to which he once put this consoling doctrine :

"When the two clergymen entered the sick chamber, Irving went up to the bedside, and looking in the face of the patient said softly, but earnestly, 'George M——, God loves you; be assured of this—God loves you.' When the hurried visit was over, the young man's sister coming in found her patient in a tearful ecstasy not to be described. 'What do you think?' Mr. Irving says God loves me,' cried the dying lad, overwhelmed with the confused, pathetic joy of that great discovery. The sudden message had brought sunshine and light into the chamber of death."

This view of the Father's love as open to all men, though not Calvinistic, was quite naturally held by one who believed that the Son had redeemed man's nature and not simply the separate souls that share it. Both Campbell and Irving are very powerfully and justly defended on these points in the work before us. Irving protested against the Scottish Church that it had denied God in the Trinity,—in the love of the Father by condemning Campbell, in the humanity of the Son by its sentence upon himself, and through the London Presbytery in the operations of the Holy Ghost. Into these questions it is not needful further to enter. It is clear that the spirit of his theology had become fundamentally opposed to that of their scheme of orthodoxy. He held to the letter of Scripture mystically, they only ecclesiastically. Practically they were much farther apart than they might be made to appear in speculation. No one would wish to claim Irving as a Unitarian. We are not even prepared to say that there was in his views of Christ something of Swedenborgianism. He strove earnestly to keep himself orthodox. But we remark with what exceeding difficulty an honest mind has to contend whenever it strives, as he did, to bring home to its conviction, in harmony with Trinitarian views, the real humanity of the Son of God. The following judgment of Irving's amiable and able biographer may conclude our notice of her deeply interesting work. She has just been speaking of Campbell, of whom she says,

"He was expelled from the Church for making his special stand upon, and elevating into the rank of a vital truth, that very proclamation of universal mercy which the Church herself had trained and sent him forth to utter. The offence of Irving was one, when honestly stated, of a still more subtle and delicate shade. Unaware of saying anything that all Christians did not believe; ready to accept heartily the very definition given in the standards of the Church as a true statement of his doctrine; always ready to bring his belief to the test of those standards, and to find their testimony in his favour; his error lay in believing the common statement, 'tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin,' to infer a diviner ineffable merit, a deeper condescension of love in the human life of the holy Lord than could be stated in any formula.

What the General Assembly interpreted to mean a passive Innocence, he interpreted to mean an active Holiness in that divine, immaculate Saviour, whose heavenly purity he adored entirely as they. For this difference the Church, excited with conflict, inflicted hasty censure, to be inevitably followed by all the heavier sentences she had in her power. Such was the work of this momentous Assembly. With hasty national absolutism, it cut off from its communion, for such causes, men whom it knew and confessed to be an honour and blessing to the Church and nation which had produced them. I do not pretend to point this narrative with any moral drawn from the troubled and stormy course through which the Church of Scotland has had to pass since then; on one side always more and more absolute, impatient of inevitable conditions, and, if resolute to attain perfection, always yet more resolute that such perfection was to be attained only in its own way; but it is not surprising to find that men who looked on during that crisis with anguish and indignation,—believing that not John Campbell deposed, but the love of the Father limited or denied, and that not Edward Irving censured, but the love of the Son in its deepest evidence rejected, was the real issue of the double process,—should draw such conclusions, and contemplate that agitated career, with its sad disruption and rending asunder, as bearing melancholy evidence of that which some men call inevitable development, and some the judgment of heaven.”

THE LATE REV. GEORGE LEE, OF KENDAL.

THE public life of this good and useful man repeated in a singular manner that of his father, inasmuch as both were brought up to the Dissenting ministry and exercised it for a while, but were severally led to devote themselves chiefly to the newspaper press. The parallel in point of age has sadly failed in the son's case. The father, long and well known as the Rev. George Lee, of Hull, had been educated at Wymondly, and, losing his hereditary Calvinism, settled as minister of a small congregation at Lea-wood, in Derbyshire, whence being invited as a temporary supply to Hull, he married, and settled down for life in the latter place, at first as a schoolmaster, and presently as editor also of the then new Liberal paper, the *Rockingham*. The subject of the present brief memoir was born at Hull in 1805, and, having been well prepared at his father's school, entered the York College in September, 1821. His career there was that of a steady, hard-working and exemplary student. His favourite pursuits were the languages and literature; for mathematics he had little taste. In disposition he was always gentle, amiable and genial. This was perhaps the period above all others to which York students are justified in looking back as the very manhood of that institution. Certainly the students of and about Mr. Lee's standing proudly regarded it as such; and

were unwilling to yield to any other institution or regime, contemporary or subsequent, the palm for solid and thorough instruction, against the chairs then occupied respectively by Well-beloved, Kenrick and Turner. On the completion of his five years (then the full college course) at York, Mr. Lee, scarcely twenty-one years of age, settled as minister at Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he also kept school. At the end of the year 1829, he removed to Lancaster, carrying with him the esteem of his Boston friends, who further expressed it by the presentation of a copy of Lardner's works. He remained at Lancaster till Midsummer, 1835, when, we believe, he first undertook the editorship of the *Kendal Mercury*. In 1840, he removed to Hull to assist his father, then in declining health, in the management of the *Rockingham*. While here, he married a Kendal lady. Some time after his father's death, he returned to Kendal, where he became proprietor of the paper which he had previously edited; and in this position he continued till his death.

Though thus laic in his occupations, however, Mr. Lee never felt that he had altogether relinquished the work of the ministry; far less its heart and interests. While at Lancaster, he had become a member of the Widows' Fund, and when residing at Kendal, he was a frequent attendant at the Provincial Meetings. Both at Hull and at Kendal, his ready help was available at any time in the pulpit of a brother minister and friend.

His newspaper was well conducted, having all the vigour as regards early and full intelligence that a weekly local paper could display; sound sense, strength and decision of political views always characterizing its editorial articles, which were truly exemplary in their freedom from asperity or unfairness towards opponents; while a vein of quiet fun and humour, which always belonged to Mr. Lee, indulged itself and amused his readers in a column of varieties. The editor of the rival paper, the *Kendal Gazette*, speaks of him as handsomely as truly in these words, in which also the brief story of his decline and death is told:

"Upwards of twenty years ago, Mr. Lee filled the post of editor of the *Kendal Mercury*, and since the year 1844, he had been proprietor and editor of that paper. It may be permitted to us to say that during that time neither party antagonism nor journalistic differences ever interfered with the personal esteem which was felt by us in common with all who knew him. In his advocacy of the 'Liberal' side, he was discriminating and independent. Mr. Lee was of the Unitarian persuasion, but he had no sectarian exclusiveness. His death was the termination of a wasting disease which made its first insidious appearance about nine months ago, and the germ of which he attributed to a cold caught in a mountain ramble at the close of last summer. About a month ago he was persuaded to take a short interval of rest from business, in the hopes of amended health, and went to Southport. But no amelioration, unfortunately, was then possible. He returned home

on Tuesday evening in an excessively feeble and emaciated state only to die, within thirty-six hours of his arrival at home. He expired about two o'clock on Thursday morning."

The character so well appreciated by a political opponent was intrinsically that of straightforward, simple truthfulness and integrity in word and deed, joined with genuine goodness of heart and amiableness of temper. We lose a good man too soon ;—too soon for us,—too soon, alas ! for his wife and young family ; never too soon for himself, if duty in this life is the way to acceptance in life eternal.

DR. LEECHMAN, OF GLASGOW, AND THE CHARGE OF HERESY AGAINST HIM.

OF the Scottish divines of the 18th century, no man occupied a more important place than Dr. William Leechman, who was connected with the University of Glasgow for more than forty years, first as Professor of Theology and then as Principal. He was the representative in the west of Scotland of the liberal party in theology, a party that for nearly a century was numerous and powerful, especially from the learning, the high personal character, and the social position and influence of its leaders.

Dr. Leechman was the son of a farmer in Lanarkshire, who, if we may judge from the one recorded incident in his life, was not a common man. One of the last victims for conscience' sake of the tyrannous rule of the Stuarts in Scotland was Mr. Robert Baillie, of Jerviswood, who was executed at Edinburgh, Dec. 24, 1684. There were circumstances of indecent haste and cruelty connected with his trial and execution, which awakened a large amount of feeling throughout Scotland. Not content with his death, the government had the quarters of the body of their victim exposed with ignominy. One portion of the body was affixed to the Tolbooth of Lanark. Mr. Leechman, assisted by one or two like-minded companions, took down the mangled limbs and gave them decent burial. This act of courageous sympathy created a kindly feeling between the house of Jerviswood and the family of Leechman, by which William Leechman was the gainer, being assisted in his course through the University of Edinburgh by the Baillie family. It was not till five years after his obtaining a licence as a preacher from the Presbytery of Paisley, that he obtained a parish, that of Beith. During his incumbency in that populous and extensive parish, he received an invitation from the Presbyterian Dissenters of Belfast to become their minister. Putting aside the temptation of increased income and of intercourse with the educated and refined inhabitants of the second city in Ireland, he determined

to remain in Scotland, and was the year after elected, by the casting vote of the Lord Rector, Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow. His competitor for the chair was Mr. Maclaurin, brother of the celebrated Professor of that name in Edinburgh, himself a learned and estimable clergyman of Glasgow. The friends of Mr. Maclaurin, mortified by the result of the election, offered every kind of opposition to the successful candidate. Eventually a charge of heresy was concocted against Mr. Leechman. Of this singular affair full and interesting accounts have recently appeared in two works illustrative of Scottish ecclesiastical history and biography, both of which we place before our readers. In this age of ecclesiastical prosecutions, and of attempts to put down free inquiry by charges of heresy, it may be well for relators to see how their efforts are treated by historians and men of impartial habits.

Our first extract is from "The Church History of Scotland," by the Rev. John Cunningham (II. 468—472).

"We have already referred to the change which had come over the usual style of preaching in the Church. The preacher began to aim at purity of language, and, if his genius permitted, not unfrequently illustrated his subject by a reference to the principles of mental or moral philosophy. The unending divisions and subdivisions of the preceding century were discarded. The old custom of making every sermon contain a complete body of divinity was laid aside. One subject was fixed upon, and the whole attention was rivetted to it. Sometimes, to the indignation of many, both among ministers and people, the manuscript was taken to the pulpit—a practice which had hitherto been esteemed characteristic of the Episcopal clergy. Such novelties of course created asperities. Men of the old school began to see laxity of principle, unsoundness of faith, Arminianism, Socinianism, Atheism, in these modern sermonizers. Hence they were continually intimating that there was a scent of heresy where no heresy was. They dragged Professor Campbell before the Church Courts, charging him with teaching that self-love lay at the basis of religion; they arraigned Dr. Wishart,* singularly

* "This Dr. Wishart was Principal of the University of Edinburgh. In 1738 he was prosecuted before the Church Courts for heresy. The main charge against him was, 'That he profanely diminished the due weight and influence of arguments taken from the awe of future rewards and punishments.' The Assembly fully acquitted him. Dr. Erskine says that he 'was unjustly accused of heresy for maintaining that true religion is influenced by higher motives than self-love.' In 1745 he was raised to the Moderator's chair. He was brother of Dr. George Wishart, minister of the Tron Church, and regarded as one of the finest preachers of his day. Of him Henry Mackenzie has left us this interesting sketch:—'Of George Wishart, the figure is before me at this moment. It is possible some who hear me may remember him. Without the advantage of that circumstance, I can faintly describe his sainted countenance—that physiognomy so truly expressive of Christian meekness, yet in the pulpit often lighted up with the warmest devotional feeling. In the midst of his family society—a numerous and amiable one—it beamed with so much patriarchal affection and benignity, so much of native politeness, graced with those manners which improve its form without weakening its substance, that I think a painter of the apostolic school could have nowhere found a more perfect model.' (Life of Home.)

enough, for teaching the very opposite—that self-love was not a religious motive. The Assembly wisely acquitted both. They accused Professor Campbell of denying that a man could discover the being and attributes of God without a revelation; and now, as we shall immediately see, they accused Dr. Leechman for asserting it.

“Dr. Leechman, while minister of Beith, had preached a course of sermons on prayer. About the same period a pamphlet had got into circulation, the drift of which was to show that prayer was an absurd and unreasonable, or rather an impious and blasphemous, practice—a vain and superstitious attempt to alter the counsels of the Unchangeable. The pamphlet is now forgotten, but the argument is not; it has frequently been revived. In these circumstances Dr. Leechman condensed what he had said in the pulpit, retaining chiefly what he considered was an answer to the pamphlet, and published it, hoping that his sermon would act as an antidote to the poison which had been spread among the young. The sermon bore the marks of a devout heart, as well as of a cultivated understanding; it was much read and admired, and in the course of a few months reached a second edition. The author was soon afterwards made Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and he appears to have been deserving of the honour. He was an accomplished scholar, of a metaphysical turn of mind; and we have the authority of Sir Henry Moncrieff for saying, that ‘he was a man of primitive and apostolic manners, equally distinguished by his love of literature and his liberal opinions.’* In appearance he was like an ascetic monk, reduced to a skeleton by fasting and prayer.†

“But the minister of Beith was not raised to the academic chair with universal approbation. He was said to be too abstruse in his preaching; his sermon on prayer was pronounced a Christless sermon; and it was insinuated that he might affect the aspirants to the ministry with his dry morality.‡ These views soon found an exponent. An elder rose up in the Presbytery of Glasgow, said that many had been offended by Dr. Leechman’s sermon on prayer, and moved that inquiry should be made as to the orthodoxy of its contents. A committee was accordingly appointed to examine the suspicious discourse.

“The committee met, drew up some condemnatory remarks upon the discourse, and then allowed the Professor to append his answers. The chief objection taken to the sermon was, that it did not specially state that all our prayers to God must be offered in the name and for the sake of Christ. To this Dr. Leechman replied, that his sermon was never intended to be a perfect exposition of every part of prayer; that it was written with a special object, and that therefore he had confined his argument within a limited range; that it was no part of his design to explain the ground of acceptance in prayer, but to show that the offering up of our desires to God was agreeable both to the promptings of our heart and the lessons of our Bible. He appealed to other sermons which he had preached and published to show that he was very far from regarding the merits and mediation of Christ ‘as foreign and superfluous circumstances of which prayer should be stripped.’ The only

* “Life of Erskine, p. 85.

† “Carlyle’s MS. Memoirs, quoted in Appendix to Morren’s Annals.

‡ “Robe of Kilsyth, who published an account of Leechman’s trial.

other objection of any weight which the presbytery's committee made to the sermon was, that the author seemed to insinuate that some men without the aid of revelation were capable of reasoning out for themselves such a knowledge of God as might lead to their attaining eternal happiness. Dr. Leechman denied that any such sentiment was contained in his discourse, and challenged proof. He had said that a heathen might, by the light of nature, arrive at a knowledge of God and His attributes, but nothing more. He had indeed used an *argumentum ad hominem*; but it amounted to no more than this, that even Deists, who thought a system of religion could be reasoned out by the light of nature, must acknowledge that revelation was a much easier way of attaining it, and much more fitted to the capacities and situation of the bulk of mankind.

"Before the presbytery came to a decision, Dr. Leechman carried his case by complaint to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. That court met then, as it does still, in the month of April. If the Professor of Divinity had his enemies he had also his friends, and when the synod assembled it was more than usually crowded. Men of high rank, elders of the Church, who had not been seen in an ecclesiastical judicatory for years, were now in their place. The papers were produced, and the remarks of the presbyterial committee and the replies of the professor read one by one. Some members of the court asked for explanations, and Dr. Leechman, who was present, readily gave them. In fine, the synod, with scarcely a dissentient voice, found that the answers of the Professor were quite satisfactory, and that there was no reason to charge him with unsoundness in the faith.*

"The case was brought by appeal before the Assembly which met in May, 1744; but the Assembly had no difficulty in affirming the decision of the synod, and declaring that Dr. Leechman had given abundant satisfaction concerning his orthodoxy.† The good feeling of the House was so conspicuous, that the Moderator alluded to it in his closing address. 'In that case,' said he, 'of more than ordinary delicacy, the accusation of a professor of divinity for heresy, have we not seen the beauty of Christian charity, in condescension, on the one hand, to remove offence, and readiness, on the other, to embrace satisfaction?'‡ In truth, it would have been very sad if the synod or the Assembly had come to a different result. The Professor was arraigned not for what he had said, but for what he had not said. He was blamed not for denying the mediation of Christ, but for not mentioning it. His imputed sin was purely negative. Are there not whole chapters even in the Pauline Epistles where the atonement of Christ is not once alluded to? Are there not passages in which we are urged to pray, to pray always, to pray without ceasing, and not told that our prayers must be offered up in the name of the Great Mediator? Might not the mode of reasoning which led to the arraignment of Leechman have led to the arraignment of the evangelists and apostles?"

One of Mr. Leechman's pupils in the divinity hall of Glasgow

* "Morren's Annals, vol. i. pp. 46—60.

† "Acts of Assembly, pp. 676—77.

‡ "See Appendix to Morren's Annals, vol. i.

University was Alexander Carlyle, from whose *Autobiography* our second extract is taken. It will serve to shew how ingenuous youth of the better kind view prosecutions for heresy.

“In November, 1743, I went to Glasgow, much more opportunely than I should have done the preceding year, for the old Professor of Divinity, Mr. Potter, who had been a very short while there, died in the week I went to College; and his chair, being in the gift of the University, was immediately filled by Mr. William Leechman, a neighbouring clergyman, a person thoroughly well qualified for the office, of which he gave the most satisfactory proof for a great many years that he continued Professor of Theology, which was till the death of Principal Neil Campbell raised him to the head of the University. He was a distinguished preacher, and was followed when he was occasionally in Edinburgh. His appearance was that of an ascetic, reduced by fasting and prayer; but in aid of fine composition, he delivered his sermons with such fervent spirit, and in so persuasive a manner, as captivated every audience.* This was so much the case, that his admirers regretted that he should be withdrawn from the pulpit, for the Professor of Theology has no charge in Glasgow, and preaches only occasionally. It was much for the good of the Church, however, that he was raised to a station of more extensive usefulness; for while his interesting manner drew the steady attention of the students, the judicious choice and arrangement of his matter formed the most instructive set of lectures on theology that had, it was thought, ever been delivered in Scotland. It was, no doubt, owing to him, and his friend and colleague Mr. Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy, that a better taste and greater liberality of sentiment were introduced among the clergy in the western provinces of Scotland.

“Able as this gentleman was, however, and highly unexceptionable not only in morals but in decorum of behaviour, he was not allowed to ascend his chair without much opposition, and even a prosecution for heresy. Invulnerable as he seemed to be, the keen and prying eye of fanaticism discovered a weak place, to which they directed their attacks. There had been published at Glasgow, or in the neighbourhood of Dr. Leechman’s church, in the country, before he came to Glasgow, about that period, a small pamphlet against the use of prayer, which had circulated amongst the inferior ranks, and had made no small impression, being artfully composed. To counteract this poison, Leechman had composed and published his sermon on the nature, reasonableness, and advantages of prayer; with an attempt to answer the objections against it, from Matthew xxvi. 41. In this sermon, though admirably well composed, in defence of prayer as a duty of natural religion, the author had forgot, or omitted to state, the obligations on Christians to pray in the name of Christ. The nature of his subject did not lead him to state this part of a Christian’s prayer, and perhaps he thought that the inserting anything relative to that point might disgust or lessen the curiosity of those for whose conviction he had published the sermon. The fanatical or high-flying clergy in the presbytery of Glasgow took

* “A portrait of Leechman, from a painting by W. Millar, very characteristic, and in harmony with this description, is prefixed to an edition of his *Sermons*: London, 2 vols. 8vo, 1789.—ED.

advantage of this omission, and instituted an inquiry into the heresy contained in this sermon by omission, which lasted with much theological acrimony on the part of the inquirers (who were chiefly those who had encouraged Cambuslang's work, as it was called, two years before), till it was finally settled in favour of the Professor by the General Assembly, 1744.* Instead of raising any anxiety among the students in theology, or creating any suspicion of Dr. Leechman's orthodoxy, this fit of zeal against him tended much to spread and establish his superior character."

The biographer of Dr. Leechman states that no further attempts were made to darken his reputation, and that his character as a preacher and professor shone out the brighter after this cloud was dissipated. "Some of those who had appeared his keen adversaries in the church process, lived with him afterwards on terms of sincere friendship; even the prejudices of the common people in Glasgow gradually subsided; so that he came to be considered there, as he had always been in every other place, a very acceptable preacher."

One important academic reform received the sanction of his authority. Following the example of Professor Hutcheson, who had (notwithstanding his own ease in speaking Latin) introduced the innovation, he gave his lectures in English and not in Latin.

Dr. Leechman continued to fill the Theological Chair for seventeen years, and with increasing success. The number of his pupils was increased by some students for the ministry in South Britain. He cultivated very friendly relations with the liberal Dissenters of England,—Lardner, Benson, Price and Dr. John Taylor, being among his personal friends. The last-named eminent man had received the unsolicited honour from the University of Glasgow of the degree of Doctor in Divinity, perhaps through the instrumentality of Dr. Leechman. Dr. Woodrow tells us that on a journey from the south and west of England to Glasgow, Dr. Leechman made his arrangements to spend his Sunday at Warrington with Dr. Taylor, "the first time these kindred souls had the pleasure of meeting."

During the last twenty-five years of Dr. Leechman's life, he was Principal of the University of Glasgow. It is remarked of him that though in youth he was supposed to be consumptive, and though at no period his health was robust, his life was protracted to its eightieth year.

His principal works consist of, 1, a Life of his friend Dr. Hutcheson, which, as a specimen of biographical composition, is

* "*Cambuslang's Work*: Revivals in the Parish of Cambuslang in Lanarkshire in the year 1742. They were the occasion of abundant controversy; but the fullest account of them will be found in *Narrative of the extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, &c.*, written by Mr. James Robe and others.—ED.

alike instructive and pleasing ; 2, two volumes of Sermons, which are models of thoughtful, rational and dignified pulpit exercises.

Dr. Leechman may be regarded as the head of the school of Scotch Latitudinarian divines. Forty years ago, there were in many parts of Scotland, and especially in the retired country parishes, grave and exemplary clergymen whose distinctive theology was supposed to be Arian, who dwelt little on doctrinal topics in the pulpit, but who taught on the basis of rational Christian principles the purest morality.

They are now extinct, and few traces are to be found in Calvinistic Scotland of their able teaching and their respectable and useful lives. The fact is a warning to men who, with heterodox personal convictions, consent to serve at the altars of a church of which the symbols are "orthodox." Vain is the hope they are apt to cherish that they shall succeed in imbuing their age with a spirit sufficiently liberal to uproot in time the articles and creeds which they disbelieve. Their inconsistency destroys their moral power. A more honest fanaticism, like that now rampant in the pulpits of the "Free Church," in a few years undoes the life-work of men who were liberal and rational and scriptural, not in consequence, but in spite, of their church position. The brave fidelity of a Theophilus Lindsey is increasingly honoured, while the half-hearted wisdom of those who, though they speak or write truth, dare not act it out, is soon forgotten.

BUDDHIST CREED.

TREASURES must be scattered all ;
Pride is lofty, but must fall ;
Earthly union must decay ;
Death alone hath endless sway.

All things soon to night shall turn,
All that's born is born to mourn ;
Faith can through the darkness see,
Spirit is reality.

Mercy as a rock is strong ;
Trust and faith to truth belong ;
And the path to Paradise
Through the fields of virtue lies.

JOHN BOWRING.

LIFE OF JOHN ROGERS, THE PROTO-MARTYR.*

NUMEROUS as have been the accounts of the life of the first Marian martyr, Mr. Chester claims to be the first who has really done justice to his character. Led by the desire of confirming a tradition current in his family, of his being a descendant of John Rogers, Mr. Chester, a New-Englander, visited the mother country and devoted himself to genealogical and other researches, in the course of which he became convinced that the narratives hitherto current in the Protestant Church are not only singularly defective, but also grossly inaccurate. He has put together the results of his investigations in this respectable volume, which is certainly entitled to the attention of all who are interested in the ecclesiastical history of England. The abstract which we now propose to give of his book will shew that John Rogers is entitled to a much higher place than has hitherto been assigned him, and that the circumstance of his being the first to suffer for the gospel in the reign of Mary is not the only or the most important incident in his honourable career. If, as Mr. Chester believes, the memory of his supposed ancestor has been unjustly thrust aside for the sake of doing honour to inferior men, higher only in official rank, the act of historical justice now done to an eminent servant of Christ will command the sympathy of lovers of truth and righteousness. Of the nature of his proofs, different opinions will probably exist.

John Rogers was born about the year 1500, at Deritend, now a portion of the town of Birmingham. Mr. Chester dignifies it with the style of "the city of Birmingham." Of his early history but little is known. He studied at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where, as Foxe saith, he "profitably travailed in good learning," and well prepared himself for rendering the aids which large knowledge and a mind invigorated by cultivation can give to religion. He graduated as B.A. in 1525. It will of course be remembered that Popery was then the only recognized form of Christianity in England. He was, immediately after taking his degree, chosen (according to Lewis) a junior canon of the College in Oxford which then bore the name of "the Cardinal's," from Wolsey's patronage of it, but is now known as Christ's College. We find, however, no confirmation of this statement in Anthony Wood. If we accept it, we may, with our author, interpret it into "a proof that his scholarship and abilities had already attracted attention; for this favourite college of Cardinal Wolsey had been but recently founded, and

* John Rogers, the Compiler of the first authorized English Bible; the Pioneer of the English Reformation; and its first Martyr: embracing a Genealogical Account of his Family, Biographical Sketches of some of his principal Descendants, his own Writings, &c., &c. By Joseph Lemuel Chester. 8vo. Pp. 452. London—Longman and Co. 1861.

at that time earnest efforts were made to draw within it the most noted and promising scholars from other institutions, to whom great inducements were held out, in order that its reputation might be established and its interests rapidly advanced." Having taken orders, he was presented, in 1532, to the living of the church of the Holy Trinity, and for two years did the duties of a Popish priest in a parish nigh to the spot where eventually he suffered as a Protestant martyr.

Hence it is supposed he went to Antwerp as chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers, a commercial corporation which traded under the protection of a charter. He did not, like some others, leave his native country from necessity, or to secure his personal safety, for he was still a priest, professing the established faith. But we know that his faith in the Church of Rome had at this early period undergone some change, and Mr. Chester conjectures that his resignation of the London living and the acceptance of the chaplaincy abroad were influenced by an incipient change of faith, and the knowledge that at Antwerp he could enjoy more freedom of conscience than in England.

He continued his ministrations as a priest; but day by day light was rising in his soul, under influences which have to be mentioned. "About the same time," says Foxe, "was driven into exile in Brabant, a most excellent man, William Tyndale, and also Myles Coverdale, each in himself famous, and the former since exalted by martyrdom." Rogers soon became intimately acquainted with them, and learnt from them the surpassing value of the Holy Scriptures, and was drawn into co-operation with them in the important work of their translation into the English tongue. His divorce from the Catholic Church was signified during his residence at Antwerp by his entering into the married state. The name of his wife was Adriana de Weyden, or Pratt (the names are synonymous and mean a meadow). The fact of her marrying a person in the circumstances of John Rogers may be accepted as a presumption of her being a Protestant. She was, we are told, more rich in soberness and virtue than in worldly treasures. If the marriage took place in 1536 or 1537, the process of Rogers's alienation from the Romish Church must have been very rapid after he quitted England. The marriage was probably, in the first instance, a secret one. But the course of the gospel and the Reformation now began to be tracked in fire and blood. On the 6th of Oct., William Tyndale was led forth from the Castle of Vilvorde and fastened to the stake; but with a touch of mercy, neglected in other martyrdoms, he was strangled before the flames were permitted to feed upon his body. His last thoughts were given to his country, for which he had prepared the priceless boon of a translation of the Scriptures; and his dying prayer was, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England!" Rogers found it expedient to

remove to Wittenberg. His personal connection with the martyr of Vilvorde could have been no secret. Wherever he went, Tyndale laboured, and generally with success, to convert to his own scriptural faith those around him. Even if Rogers's labours in the translation of the Scriptures were unknown, it would be surmised that he went with Tyndale in his faith. However willing the Merchant Adventurers of Antwerp might be to continue their protection to Rogers, the fate of Tyndale was a proof not to be resisted of the terrible power possessed by the priests. The desire of personal safety was not the only motive that influenced Rogers in leaving Antwerp. He longed for nearer and closer communion with Luther and Melancthon, and others who were becoming known as leaders of the Reformation. At Wittenberg he devoted himself to the study of the German language, in which he became a proficient, and then took charge of a congregation, to which he ministered for many years with great ability and success.

Mr. Chester supposes that both Tyndale and Rogers had lived together in Antwerp in the hospitable house of Thomas Poyntz, a wealthy and generous-hearted merchant, whose kindness to the Reformers seriously endangered himself, but who was saved by a timely flight.

What the amount of service was which Rogers was able at this period to render to Tyndale is not recorded, but after the arrest of the latter he continued and completed the work of translation and publication; and he lost no time, for the whole was completed and in England as early as July, 1537. The title of the book was, "The Bible, which is all the Holy Scriptures; and in which are contained the Old and New Testaments, truly and purely translated into English, by Thomas Matthew." The name of the translator was a pseudonym formed out of two scripture characters.

Mr. Chester supposes that there was a private press at Antwerp, and that the printing of the Bible was carried on in that city under the immediate supervision of Rogers.

What portion of the Bible published in 1537 Tyndale had completed before his arrest, is not certainly known. Rogers had the use of his MSS., and had the good judgment to prefer in every instance his work to that of Coverdale. The translation by the latter had failed to satisfy the wants of his countrymen, and had proved a losing venture to Grafton and Whitchurch. In order to meet the public desire of a better translation than that of Coverdale, the printers looked out for help, and learning that a new translation was in progress in Antwerp, hastened thither to secure the work. They were satisfied with the new translation then in progress, and became at once the proprietors of the undertaking, Grafton embarking in it his entire fortune.

The new translation, immediately on reaching England, found

favour far beyond what might have been anticipated. Cranmer hastened to express his satisfaction. He declared the translation to be superior to any former one, and thinks the bishops cannot produce a better one "till a day after doomsday." He commends the care and labour used in its preparation, praises especially the Dedication to the King, and asks the Minister, Lord Cromwell, to obtain if possible the Royal licence for its publication. In less than a fortnight this important point is achieved, and Cranmer writes to thank the Minister, saying that the King's licence gave him more pleasure than the gift of a thousand pounds.

The English Bible thus licensed, prepared by John Rogers, and the publication of which he superintended, is, it must be remembered, the basis of the version now used in our churches.

If Rogers's sole claim was to have arranged the MSS. of Tyndale and to have superintended the printing of the translation, it would have been no slight honour; but when we add that of finishing the work which the former had left incomplete, and remember the danger to which the task exposed him, we cannot refuse him a foremost place amongst the Reformers of the Church.

The clergy were enjoined to provide a copy of the new English Bible, and to set it up in some convenient place in the church, the parson bearing one half the cost, the parishioners the other half. Grafton's venture proved a success. The edition, one of 1500 copies, was presently disposed of.

It is a singular fact that the connection of Rogers with this publication was limited to this one edition. It is commonly described in bibliographical works as the Bible of Thomas Matthew. Copies of it are to be found in the libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth, the Bodleian, &c., &c.

We give from the Appendix of Rev. Henry Cotton's List of the Editions of the Bible (Oxford, 1821, p. 98),

1 Cor. xv. 29 :

"Ether els what do they whych are baptysed over the deed, yf the deed ryse not at all? Why are they then baptised over the deed? Ye & why stonde we in ieoperdy every houre?

"That I have fought w^t beastes at Ephesus after the maner of men, what avauntageth it me, yf the deed ryse not agayne? Lett us eate and dryncke to morow we shall dye. Be not deceaved: malicious speakinges corrupte good maners. Awake truely out of slepe, & synne not. For some have not y^e knowledge of God. I speake this to youre rebuke.

"But some man will saye: how aryse the deed? with what bodyes come they in?—and God geveth it a body at his pleasure, to every seed a severall body.

"—There is one maner glory of the sunne, & a nother glory of the mone, & a nother glory of the starres. For one starre differth from a nother in glory.

"Ther is a naturall bodye and ther is a spretuall body: as it is wrytte: the fyrste man Adam was made a lyvinge soule: and y^e last Adam was made a quyckenynge sprete. How be it, that is not fyrst which is spirituall: but y^t which is naturall, & then y^t which is spretuall."

To John Rogers belongs the merit of composing the prefaces and notes which form a characteristic part of the Bible of Thomas Matthew. Mr. Chester somewhat overstates this work when he describes it as "the first general English commentary" upon the Bible.

His next work was, "A Table of the principal Matters contained in the Bible, in which the Readers may find and practise many Common Places." In the spirit of over-pleading, which is Mr. Chester's defect, he styles this "*the first* English concordance" to the Bible.

However, it is certain that the Preface, Notes and Table of John Rogers greatly angered the Popish leaders in England, and perhaps inspired that bitter hatred which was quenched only in his blood.

We cannot join in the lamentation that John Rogers retained in his edition of the Bible the books of the Apocrypha. The volume which contains the Song of Solomon cannot lose its value by an addition of which the Ecclesiasticus, so full of moral and religious wisdom and unmistakable poetry, forms a part. The Dedication to the King, though bearing the signature of Thomas Matthew, was the work of John Rogers. Mr. Chester panegyricizes it as "preaching an admirable sermon to the King while not appearing to do so."

There were also prefixed to his Bible, a Summary Statement of Christian Doctrine, and an Exhortation to the Study of the Scriptures.

On the accession of Edward VI., the Marian exiles generally returned to England, and Rogers is presently amongst the number. We find him dating from London his translation of Melancthon's "Weighing of the Interim," August 1, 1548. He wrote from the house of the publisher, Edward Whitchurch.

Rogers received in 1551 a prebend in St. Paul's cathedral, and afterwards became divinity reader there.

Foxe, the martyrologist, in the Latin edition of his Acts and Monuments, recorded an ugly story of Rogers, which in all the English translations of that work was suppressed. We give it as Mr. Chester offers it in a free translation:

"And whereas, that we may the more profit by the history of those things which have been done in the Church, in which history nothing of importance should be omitted, something, perhaps not undeserving the attention of the reader, occurs to me here, concerning that Joan of Kent, of whom we have just made mention. When now her death had been certainly determined upon by the evangelical Bishops, a familiar

friend of his went to John Rogers, who at that time presided over the theological lectureship in St. Paul's Cathedral, exhorting and beseeching him that he would use his utmost influence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, that, her error being as far as possible chastised and restrained, the life at least of the unhappy woman might be spared; urging that perhaps in time she would be cured of her fault, and that, although while she lived she would corrupt a few persons only, her suffering death for her opinions might induce many others to think well of them. Hence, he pleaded, it would be much more advisable that she should be retained somewhere in close custody, where she should not have access to persons of weak minds, and thus, while she would be prevented from contaminating others, she would herself have an opportunity for repentance. When Rogers, after this appeal, declared himself still of the opinion that she ought to suffer death, his friend renewed his entreaties, praying that, if her errors must be wrested from her only with her life, some other mode of death might be selected, more in accordance with the gentleness and mercy taught in the Gospel, and protesting against the introduction into the Christian code of justice, in imitation of the Papists, the horrors of a death so tormenting. But Rogers again declared this form of punishment, by which men are burned alive, to be the least agonising of all, and sufficiently gentle. The other, immediately on hearing this speech of the man, which savoured so little of care and regard for the agonies of the unfortunate wretch, in a great passion of spirit, smote Rogers' hand, which he had been grasping closely, and said,—‘Well, perchance you may yet find that you, yourself, shall have your hands full of this so gentle fire.’ And afterwards, that very Rogers himself, the first of all those who perished under the persecutions of Mary, experienced a speedy retribution.”—Pp. 64—66.

Mr. Chester would be glad to disbelieve the story, and points out some inaccuracies; e. g., Rogers was not in the enjoyment of the benefices mentioned until a time subsequent to the death of Joan Bocher. But anachronisms of this kind are not uncommon in histories which are essentially true.

It is but too probable that Rogers did act the part assigned to him. We know that other men of his party, and even men ready to die for their religion, were sadly intolerant. His fellow-prisoner and brother-martyr, John Philpot, spat on an Arian who was, like themselves, under the power of the Popish hierarchy.

The “familiar friend” was probably Foxe himself, whose opinions and feelings on subjects bearing on religious liberty were in advance of his age.

After quoting Strype's account of Joan Bocher's heresies, in themselves perplexing enough, and apparently contravening Christ's humanity rather than his deity, Mr. Chester thus sensibly proceeds :

“The writer thinks it would puzzle the present Archbishop of Canterbury to summon a judicial Convocation, from any portion of his

Diocese, that would not rather convict the authors of this bewildering charge, of at least temporary insanity, than the person against whom it was preferred, of dangerous heresy. How such men as were the magnates of the Church, even at that day, could have magnified such trivial eccentricities into a crime of the highest class, it is almost impossible to conceive. Yet Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and others of their stamp did so, and the more severity they used towards her, the more perversely she persisted in her alleged errors. She was tried in solemn conclave, and judicially excommunicated by Cranmer himself, the King's Commissioners assisting in the ceremony. Latimer afterwards, perhaps finding some apology necessary for the harshness with which she had been treated, attempted it in the following blundering manner:—

“ ‘She would say,’ said he, ‘that our Saviour was not very man, nor had received flesh of his mother Mary, and yet she could show no reason why she believed so. Her opinion was this: the Son of God (said she) penetrated through her as through a glass, taking no substance of her.’ ”

“ From this it would appear that she was condemned, not so much on account of the peculiar opinions which she entertained, as because she could give no reason for them—a task which we may imagine would be rather difficult. The very memory of the transaction is a sorry one, and the bare idea revolting, that those Fathers of the Church, whom posterity has been taught to venerate, were once to be seen combined and engaged, in such frightful odds, against a single wretched and probably insane woman.

“ The best answer that can be given to the charge so made against her is found in the very language of the poor creature herself. After her condemnation, both Cranmer and Ridley visited her daily, and vainly endeavoured to induce her to recant. The fatal warrant was finally issued, and the day appointed when she was to be burned, in the language of the official record, ‘for certain detestable opinions of heresy.’ From the accounts of the final scene, she evidently evinced quite as much firmness as did her own judges a few years afterwards, and was as much a martyr for her religious opinions as they were for theirs. When the sentence of condemnation was pronounced, she said to the tribunal:—

“ ‘It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrines for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them.’ ”—Pp. 69—71.

The other preferments of Rogers were the rectory of St. Margaret Moyses, the vicarage of St. Sepulchre and the rectory of Chigwell. Dislike of pluralities was no article of the Puritan creed. After his appointment to the prebendal stall, he resigned one of his livings.

He got on one occasion into trouble by his honest denunciation in a sermon at Paul's Cross of the misuses that were made of the property of the suppressed abbeys and the confiscated goods of the Church. They whom his censures touched were indignant,

and had him summoned before the Privy Council; but he defended himself successfully, and nothing came of the charge.

In the controversy respecting ecclesiastical vestments, which so strongly moved the Puritan party, Rogers took the side hostile to their use. According to Fuller, he and Hooper were, in the matter of nonconformity as to ecclesiastical vestments, the "ringleaders" of their party. They renounced everything which they regarded as a Popish ceremony, conceiving that such "ought," as Fuller phrases it, "not only to be clipt with shears, but shaven with a razor, yea, all the stumps thereof pluckt out." In opposition to *the square cap*, Rogers was immovable, always using a round one. Bucer was wont to defend the same practice, saying "he cared not to wear a square cap, because his head was not square." Things have come to a miserable pass when church millinery and the cut of a coat or the fashion of a cap are thought to affect religion!

His long residence abroad had not diminished the attachment of John Rogers to his native land. In one of his posthumous papers he mentions with complacency that he was "an Englishman born." He procured an Act of Parliament to naturalize his wife and those of his children that were born in Germany. Happily, the extent of natural rights is now better established, and the offspring of an English subject, wherever born, are recognized as of the same country as their sire. But the Act of Naturalization was resisted by the then Lord Derby and other peers, probably on the ground that they would not recognize the legality of a clergyman's marriage.

With the death of Edward VI., the serious troubles of John Rogers began. Ten days after that event he was the appointed preacher at Paul's Cross, and, unlike his immediate predecessor in that pulpit, Ridley, he abstained entirely from political matters, confining himself to an exposition of the gospel for the day. It fell to Rogers to preach there again on the Sunday in August which followed the arrival of Queen Mary in London. It was a critical moment, and the fidelity of the true servant of Christ shone forth. He delivered (Foxe says) "a most godly and vehement sermon, avowing and confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry and superstition." There were Popish hearers not a few among his audience who marked his words, and we cannot doubt that from that time he was a doomed man. He was at once summoned before the Council, but was presently liberated, the machinery of persecution not being yet ready for its work. It was a legal defence for the bold Protestant preacher, that the law recognized the free exercise of his faith and worship. But Rogers preached no more. This courageous sermon at Paul's Cross was in fact his

last public address of any kind. The preacher who followed Rogers at Paul's Cross was Gilbert Bourne, whose vehement invectives against the late King and his religion stirred up the people into tumult, from the consequences of which the preacher was only saved by the interference of Bradford, Rogers and others of the Reformers. They who could quell were supposed to have raised the tumult, and Rogers was again in the hands of the Council. In the minute of the proceedings of the Queen's Council—"John Rogers, *alias* Matthew, a seditious preacher, ordered by the Lords of the Council to keep himself a prisoner in his house at Paul's, without conference of any person other than such as are daily with him in his household, until such time as he hath contrary commandment." To Bradford and others a more severe course was pursued, and they were at once consigned to prison. For six months Rogers enjoyed the liberty of his own house and the society of his family.

Mr. Chester imagines that the policy of the Council was to give to Rogers the opportunity of flight, as they wished a man so uncompromising and fearless out of the way. The dwelling of Rogers was in undesirable proximity to that of Bonner, being one of the official residences connected with St. Paul's cathedral. The income of his Church livings was stopped, and he was thus deprived of the means of maintaining his numerous family. Bonner became impatient of the neighbourhood of a heretic like Rogers, and to his evil influence is attributed the removal of the prisoner to Newgate, which took place January 27, 1554.

Dr. Maitland has, in a spirit of antipathy to the English Reformers, described Rogers as "a demagogue and seditious person." But, except in the matter of his religion, Rogers was without fault, having carefully abstained from those political indiscretions into which Ridley and others of the party were betrayed. With two personal enemies like Gardiner and Bonner, the condition of Rogers was critical indeed.

"The malignity of both these men did not cease, when they had consigned him to the worst and most loathsome prison then in London—the common receptacle for offenders of the lowest, and criminals of the highest, grades. From all the evidence, it appears that the restrictions imposed and the severities inflicted upon him far exceeded those endured by any similar prisoner. Very little is known of his personal history during the year that he remained in Newgate, for he seems to have made no complaint, but rather to have borne his sufferings manfully. Foxe declares that he was even 'merry,' but that word, in his time, signified less than it now implies."—P. 124.

When the subtle policy of the Council of engaging the prisoners in polemical discussions with chosen men of the two Universities was developed, Ridley and his companions in tribulation resolved to baulk the scheme by declining controversy except in writing. The document in which their purpose

is stated has the name of John Rogers (the seventh in order) affixed to it. They refused to meet their opponents in oral discussion chiefly on the ground of the partiality of the tribunal, and that it could not promote the interests of truth. To this document they added certain articles of faith.

The imprisonment of Rogers appears to have exceeded in severity that of the other prisoners for conscience' sake, being prohibited the use of his books and also debarred from writing. This must account for the absence of writings of his like those which exist in such volume from the other imprisoned Reformers.

In private, means were used by his wife and friends, by intercession to Gardiner, to obtain his release or a mitigation of the severity of his imprisonment, but in vain. A petition of the prisoners to Parliament, presented about the close of the year 1554, met with no better success.

On the 22nd of January in the following year, Rogers was brought before the Privy Council. To the demand of his assent to the supremacy of the Pope, Rogers replied that Christ was the only head of the Church, and that the authority of the *Bishop of Rome* did not transcend that of other bishops. We cannot venture into the details of the long conversation between Rogers and the Council. On his part, it was conducted with courage and good faith; on theirs, with violence and bitter sarcasms. The only note of kindness and pity was uttered by Thomas Thirlby, the then Bishop of Ely. What the prevailing spirit of the Council was, appears from this incident:

“Sir Richard Southwell sneeringly intimated that when he came to the burning—showing clearly that thus early had his ultimate fate been determined—he would not be so confident and fearless; to which Rogers meekly responded—lifting his eyes to Heaven—‘Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God, yes.’”—Pp. 157, 158.

Rogers returned to his cell in Newgate, and contrived to write a narrative of what had passed:

“Very probably, having secreted a little paper and some instrument for writing, the only opportunities that he could steal from his jealous watchers were when he was supposed to be at rest, and then, by the sickly rays of the moonlight that penetrated into his gloomy abode, he penned these last messages to his friends and the world that he was soon to leave. On that night, he added a few earnest words to what he may have previously written, stating that he had just been informed that he was to appear the next morning before some tribunal; and his appeal for the prayers of all true Christians would seem to indicate that he hoped to be able to deliver his communication into some friendly hands on the following day. He did not forget that he was a husband and father, and, in the most touching language, commended his ‘poor wife,’ and all his and her ‘little souls,’ to the sympathy and protection of those, in defence of whose common faith he was about to render up

his own life. We may but faintly realise his emotions as he retired that night to his prison couch."—P. 161.

The final trial of Rogers began on the 28th of January, in the afternoon following that of Hooper and Cardmaker. A large portion of the trial consisted in acrimonious talk between Gardiner and the prisoner. A single specimen must suffice. Rogers had asked Gardiner why he was imprisoned.

"The reply was, because he had preached against the Queen. This, Rogers promptly and positively denied, and, aware that he referred particularly to his sermon at Paul's Cross, on the Sunday after the Queen came to the Tower, appealed to the entire audience then present, as witnesses to sustain his denial. Conscious that he could not maintain this position, Gardiner flew to another, and alleged that he had read his lectures in the Cathedral, after he had been forbidden to do so; but Rogers disputed this even more positively, and offered his life in defence of his assertion. Gardiner was silent, for he well knew that he had uttered a falsehood. Rogers then exposed his duplicity, and the injustice with which he had been treated, alleging that the laws of both God and man had been violated in his person, and that they had, in the most arbitrary and illegal manner, kept him in confinement until they had succeeded in reviving certain obsolete enactments, under which they were now seeking his life."—Pp. 176, 177.

"It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon, when Gardiner closed the farce, by declaring that he must extend to him 'the charity of the Church,'—a charity which Rogers characterised as similar to that of foxes and wolves towards chickens and lambs,—and gave him until the next day to return to her catholic bosom and receive her mercy."—Pp. 177, 178.

Hooper and Rogers were taken from the Council to the Compter at Southwark, their passage thither being greatly impeded by the people that thronged about them. Then it was that a few memorable words passed between the two doomed men. Hooper being in advance, waited till Rogers had got up to him, and then said,—

"Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?' 'Yes, sir,' replied Rogers, 'by God's grace.' 'Doubt not'—returned Hooper—'but God will give us strength.'—P. 178.

On the following morning, Tuesday, January 29 (Mr. Chester, by an unhappy blunder, gives the date *February* 29), Rogers and Hooper were brought into the church; the scene of the previous day was repeated with greater warmth on the part both of Gardiner and Rogers, and the former had the wicked satisfaction of bringing the discussion to a close by reading the official sentence of condemnation,—the language of which but slightly differed from that pronounced a few years previously upon poor Joan Bocher.

Rogers was prepared for the worst, and thus rebuked his evil-minded judge:

“ ‘Well, my Lord,’ said he, ‘here I stand before God and this honourable audience, and take Him to witness that I never wittingly and willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore I have a good conscience before God and all good men. I am not afraid but that you and I shall come before a Judge which is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and where, I nothing doubt, I shall be found a true member of the Catholic Church, and everlastingly saved. As for your false Church, you need not excommunicate me from it, for I have not been in it these twenty years—the Lord be praised therefore!’ ”—P. 183.

For the sake of those that were dearer to him than his own life, Rogers condescended to ask one favour from his judges; it was that his poor wife, being a stranger, might come and speak with him as long as he lived, adding these touching words: “For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her what it were best for her to do” (p. 184).

The petition gave to Gardiner an opportunity of offering an insult as well as a refusal. “She is not thy wife,” said he. When Rogers replied she was and had been so for eighteen years, the bishop cried out, “She shall not come near thee.” Stung to madness by the cruelty of the insult, the prisoner poured forth a denunciation as terrible as anything recorded in history. The two doomed prisoners returned to Newgate; but the arrangements made for their return shewed the apprehensions of the bishops that the people would rise and attempt their release. They were first taken to the Clink prison at Southwark, and then conducted in the dark—all the lights in the streets having been by special order extinguished—across London Bridge to Newgate. The prisoners were attended by an armed force; but the people waited for them, and poured blessings on their heads, and offered prayers for the continuance of their fortitude. To get a last glimpse of the martyrs, men and women held lighted candles in their hands. That strange, wild scene of one of the darkest hours of England’s night, is worthy of being put on the canvas by some painter who knows how to delineate the strongest passions of the soul.

Returned to his cell in the prison, Rogers had an opportunity of saying a few words to another prisoner for conscience, John Day, who afterwards published the “Acts and Monuments.”

“Thou shalt live,” said he, “to see the alteration of this religion, and the Gospel to be freely preached again: therefore, have me commended to my brethren, as well those in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good ministers into the churches, or else their end will be worse than ours.”—P. 193.

Of the few intervening days that preceded his death, we know but little, but all the accounts of him represent him as full of courage and wonderfully cheerful. To Hooper he sent a jocular message on the last day of his life. On the morning of the fatal

day he was roused at an early hour from a tranquil and deep slumber by the jailor's wife, who announced to him that Bonner was awaiting him, and that his execution was to be instant. "If it be so," said he, proceeding to dress, "I need not tie my points." The presence of Bonner was required in order to give effect to the process of ecclesiastical degradation, which consisted in arraying the condemned in full official canonicals, and then, with certain forms of anathema, tearing them from them and rending them into pieces. As Gardiner had previously done, Bonner refused the petition of Rogers, that "before his burning he might talk a few words with his wife."

Between ten and eleven, the ecclesiastical ceremonies were accomplished, and the procession for Smithfield was ready. But these priests could spare no time for the dying man to recruit his strength for the last grapple with his fate by a little food. He went forth to his death fasting.

The death of Rogers and his courage throughout made a profound sensation on the popular mind of England. "The Catholics," as Mr. Froude tells us (*History*, VI. 318), "had affected to sneer at the faith of their rivals. There was a general conviction among them, which was shared probably by Pole and Gardiner, that the Protestants would all flinch at the last, that they had no 'doctrine that would abide the fire.' When Rogers appeared, therefore, the exultation of the people in his constancy overpowered the horror of his fate, and he was received with rounds of cheers."

Woodroffe, one of the sheriffs, called on Rogers to renounce his heresy respecting the sacrament of the altar. "That which I have preached," said Rogers, "I will seal with my blood." "Thou art a heretic!" retorted the sheriff. "That," said he, "shall be known at the day of judgment." "Well," rejoined the sheriff, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," was the gentle and becoming answer of the martyr.

We give the rest of the story in the language of Mr. Chester.

"It was Monday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the 4th day of February, 1555, when Rogers was led, for the last time, through the gates of the dreary prison that had been his home for more than a twelvemonth, and, amidst a formidable array of armed guards, was conducted towards Smithfield. His emotions may, to some extent, be conceived, but cannot be wholly understood. Doubtless, he gazed backwards, giving one last look to the venerable Cathedral where he had often ministered, and breathed a silent prayer for those then within its familiar precincts. But a few steps brought him within the shadow of his own church walls, and perhaps, even then, the bell of St. Sepulchre's, which had often called him to its altar, was tolling slowly in its ancient tower the funeral knell of its old pastor. Thousands of spectators met his eye on every side, and among them he recognised many a familiar face. In spite of the guards by whom he was surrounded, their emotions could not be restrained, and the air resounded with their

acclamations of joy and sorrow—sorrow, that their old friend and teacher was to be torn from them in such a terrible manner, and joy, that he met his doom so nobly and fearlessly. Shouts of praise and thanksgiving arose from every direction, as he passed along on that fatal march, and so wonderful and earnest was the general rejoicing, that even the enemies of his faith described him and the scene as a bridegroom going to meet his bride at the wedding altar.

“Still onward moves the cortége. Just yonder, directly in its way, waits a little group, towards which the doomed man, step by step, draws nearer. Will he falter now? Will his trust, great as it is, in his Almighty Father, sustain him in this last and most fearful trial? Is he flesh and blood, or a being so spiritually refined that the common sentiments of humanity have no longer a place within his breast? There wait the loving and faithful woman who for eighteen years has lain in his bosom, clasping to her heart an unconscious infant which he has never before seen, and by her side ten other little ones whom God has given them. Their anxious faces are all turned upon him, and their dear and well-remembered voices reach his ear in one distracting cry for husband and father. Will that passionate appeal, those imploring looks, the tender memories of the past, and the anxious forebodings of the future, not move a heart that is not already turned to stone? Breathless is the crowd that gazes upon this scene—hopeful are the enemies of his faith—fearful are its friends. But doubts, hopes, fears, anxieties—all are soon dispelled. One long, soul-full, never to be forgotten look—one silent, solemn blessing—one solitary, momentary yielding to the natural emotions of human nature—and the man becomes again the martyr. Slowly, but firmly, he passes on, and the next instant issue from his lips, in mournful but inspiring cadences, the strains of the glorious *Miserere*.

“From that moment, the ultimate success of the Reformation was assured. The true faith might then be hidden in darkness, and years might elapse before its sun would again arise to dispel the mists of error that should envelope it for a season, but it would appear at last. *For, at least, the third time had the responsibility of the Protestant movement in England rested upon this one humble man, and for the third and last time did he sustain it with the unflinching heroism of something more than man.* Had he failed in either instance, but especially on this occasion, God alone knows the consequences that might have ensued.

“It is unnecessary to dwell upon the details of the final scene at the stake. All writers, both Protestant and Romish, united in bearing testimony to the wonderful patience and constancy, nay, even cheerfulness, with which he met his fearful doom. The spectators were more numerous than upon any subsequent occasion, and, although he was not permitted to speak much to them, he did succeed in exhorting them to remain true to the faith which he had taught and many of them had embraced, and in defence of which he had not only been content to suffer all that he had already endured, but now gladly resigned his life in this cruel manner, as his final testimony in its behalf. After this the fires were lighted, and, as they began to take effect upon him, he passed his hands through the flames, rubbing them as if in the act of washing—as though he were thus ridding himself of the last impurities of earth—and then, lifting them up towards heaven, he held them in

that position until consciousness ceased, and his soul took its flight towards its eternal home."—Pp. 201—204.

The wife and one of the sons of John Rogers visited after his death the apartment he had occupied in Newgate, and there had the good fortune to find some papers which he had left, in which was the record of his examinations before the Council and the trial. Of these but a partial and incorrect use was made by Foxe. Mr. Chester has discovered the narrative in the Lansdowne collection of the British Museum Library, and has printed it entire in the Appendix.

While we commend the diligence of Mr. Chester in seeking materials for his work, we are constrained to express our disapprobation of the controversial character of the book. We cannot help feeling at every step that our guide is a warm partizan. The eagerness to exalt Rogers is natural, and not otherwise than commendable, but the equal eagerness in depreciating the other Reformers, and the violent censures perpetually cast on Foxe for his inaccuracies and misstatements, are certainly blemishes.

It may be conceded that John Rogers was a brave and noble man, who gave up his life willingly to the cause of the Reformed religion, without at all involving the conclusion that he was greatly superior to Coverdale, Bradford and others of the early Reformers.

In his estimate of Rogers's contributions to the translation of the Bible, it is probable that Mr. Chester has transcended fact, and, in order to enrich the memory of his hero, has robbed Tyndale of a portion of the glory due to him.

We cannot for a moment accept the theory of Mr. Chester, that there has been a kind of unconscious conspiracy among the great men of the Reformation, seconded by Foxe, their historian, to rob John Rogers of his proper fame. The idea which seems to haunt his mind, that Rogers had not received his rightful share of glory because he was not a bishop, is a mere fancy. The same rule would have consigned Bradford, and others of the most honoured of the Reformers, amongst the *dii minores* of our religious history.

The result of Mr. Chester's labours will, we doubt not, be to increase the popular estimate of the services of John Rogers in promoting the Reformation, but still to an extent far from commensurate with his expectations and wishes.

The genealogical researches contained in this volume are creditable to Mr. Chester's industry and impartiality. They will grievously disappoint many on both sides of the Atlantic who have been amiably but unduly credulous as to their right to claim descent from the proto-martyr.

The volume is illustrated by a fine print of Rogers,

copied from the "Heroologia," and by some wood-cuts which elucidate one or two matters, interesting to the religious antiquary. The identification of the exact spot of the martyrdom will, we trust, lead, before arrangements are made for turning the site of Smithfield to a new use, to the erection of some suitable monument commemorative of the martyrs, and of the nation's gratitude to them for their fidelity and holy courage.

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN UNIVERSITY HALL, JUNE 25, 1862, BY
REV. SAMUEL BACHE, AT THE CLOSE OF THE ANNUAL EXAMINATION OF THE STUDENTS OF MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE.

It is desirable, my friends, that we should always endeavour to avail ourselves of seasons and circumstances for our instruction and encouragement; and I have therefore felt myself under an obligation to draw up this year's address to you with a specific reference to that which stamps upon the year itself a peculiar character.

The Bicentenary of the Ejection of the ever-memorable Two Thousand which English Nonconformists are this year celebrating, suggests to me two or three topics of my address, my friends, which would be well deserving your attention, I think, at any time, but to which their connection with our reverential and grateful commemoration of departed worth may perhaps, on the present occasion, impart a more than ordinary interest, however inadequate the treatment which I fear they may receive at my hands. All that I can hope to do is to set these topics before you simply and sincerely as they originate in this suggestion, in the relation in which they appear to me to stand to the condition and prospects of the religious life in our division of the Christian world at the present day.

The founders of Manchester College three quarters of a century ago had lost none of that spirit of reverence for profound and accurate scholarship, for high and varied intellectual culture, and especially for the earnest pursuit of theological studies, which had rendered many of the Two Thousand Ejected Ministers as eminent for their learning as for their piety, for their scholarship as for their pastoral vigilance and industry, and for the conscientiousness with which all were exercised. It will be well if one of the lessons taught us by this Bicentenary Commemoration be the undiminished and undiminishing necessity for this scientific and especially theological culture to the Christian minister of the present day,—I would rather say, the *greatly increased* necessity for such culture. The real advancement of mankind can only be promoted by securing, as far as possible, for every individual, the just balance of his powers and the wise allotment of

their various applications ; and therefore the greater the progress of secular knowledge, the more urgent the demand for the correspondent progress in religious knowledge, culture and conviction. This increasing urgency seems to be involved in the very form in which Divine Revelation, specially and distinctively so called, has been communicated to men. "It seems to have been required of us (writes Bishop Hinds)—It seems to have been required of us by the Author of revelation that His Word should have a *due share* of our intellect as well as of our hearts, and that the disproportionate direction of our talents, no less than of our affections, to the things of this world, should disqualify us for faith." Now one great and even characteristic part of the office of the Christian minister unquestionably is to aid and encourage those among whom he ministers to devote this *due share* of thought and intelligence and research to religious, and especially to scriptural, inquiry and investigation ; not merely nor even principally that right convictions may be attained and cherished, but chiefly that they may be so attained and cherished as to be worthy of the name of *convictions* at all, which they can only be when wrought out by personal thought and diligence and fidelity : since nothing is more certain than the correctness and the importance of the memorable adage, especially in relation to religion and the objects of faith, that "truth can never be received as a gift, but must be bought with a price." It is one of the first duties of the Christian minister to be prepared so to enunciate and recommend what he believes to be divine truth, that they to whom he ministers may be enabled with his assistance to secure, each for himself, the truth which he needs, and for which he in part pays the price by whatever support he gives, whether in money or in sympathy or in both, to the individual who sustains this sacred office towards him. Yet there appears a danger, not by any means confined to our religious denomination, but which I find remarked by some very earnest and eloquent Bicentenary lecturers among my orthodox friends as threatening their religious societies, the words of one of whom I shall therefore quote on this important point,—the danger of "a disposition to underestimate the importance of a learned ministry. The more generous and thorough ministerial education which, after a time of unavoidable neglect, Nonconformists have been trying hard to promote, has been regarded with suspicion, if not openly protested against, as injurious to the simplicity and vigour of evangelical preaching. Strange to say, this has been coincident with a loud demand for a restoration to our pulpits of the power and fervour of the Commonwealth. Now while there may have been a few men in that age who were effective preachers and yet very indifferent scholars,—though I can recal none belonging to that class except John Bunyan, whose extraordinary genius made him independent of the aids which most men require from a thorough

and complete intellectual discipline,—the great crowd of the Puritans and of the early Nonconformists were men of an extensive and profound erudition. If learning must necessarily injure the religious life of the minister, if keen intellectual activity must quench the fervour of holy affections, if a loving familiarity with philosophical speculations and theological controversies must disqualify a preacher for addressing the common people with success, how do you account for the piety, the zeal, the transcendent power over the hearts and consciences of the nation, of the Ejected Ministers and their immediate predecessors?" My friend cites numerous proofs and illustrations of his position, which I need not quote, and then proceeds: "I am seriously afraid that there is some danger lest, in our eagerness to fill our pulpits with fervent and successful preachers, we should fail to educate a race of great divines. There are controversies still raging for which the Church requires accomplished theologians, as well as masses of people sunk in ungodliness for whom the Church requires impassioned evangelists. Men have to be reclaimed from error as well as from sin. In the defence of the divine origin of the Christian faith, in the vindication and right adjustment of its doctrines, modern Nonconformists will be unworthy of their ancestors if they do not stand among the ablest and the most learned of the champions of the truth. Now, as in the age of the Ejected, we require the same calmness of judgment as theirs, united with the same fervour of zeal; the same profound learning united with the same simplicity of faith; the same power with men united with the same power with God; and I trust that some among us will resolve that, God helping them, the necessity shall be satisfied."*

I am glad to lay these sentiments before you in the words of an esteemed friend and brother in the Christian ministry among my orthodox neighbours (especially as they originate in the very suggestion which I am endeavouring to carry out), not only because I believe them to be eminently just and seasonable, but also because they prove how highly the most intelligent members of Christian denominations to which we are, on some very important points, opposed, appreciate that learning and culture which the founders of this Institution had it specially in view to promote. Ever may they continue to do so; and may we never suffer ourselves to fall behind them in the generous rivalry; that both they and we may become continually better fitted, in every succeeding generation, for those "conflicts kind that strike out latent truth," whereby alone the increasing demands of every succeeding generation for that truth can be duly answered. Never has there been a time, in my judgment, in which we have

* St. Bartholomew's Bicentenary Papers. Nonconformity in 1662 and 1862: a Lecture delivered in Willis' Rooms, St. James', May 6th, 1862, by the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A. London: Kent. Pp. 78, 80, 81.

had greater need than at the present time of a learned ministry. I would not utter a word in disparagement of those missionary labours for which only an inferior amount of scholarship and scholastic training may be requisite, where a greater than ordinary power of spiritual life or spiritual experience is manifested, and in which the more earnest and religious minded of our laity may sometimes effectually assist; but I desire to enter my solemn and public protest here against any and every attempt to convert the exception into the rule, and so to risk the substitution of the presumptuous self-confidence of men "desiring" (as St. Paul describes them) "to be teachers of the law, understanding neither what they say nor whereof they so confidently affirm" (1 Tim. i. 7), for the intelligent, discriminating, candid, modest, catholic spirit of men who know by experience with what diligence and reverence truth must be sought, and with what humility as well as faithfulness maintained. The state of society among us at the present day in regard to religion, requires this solemn warning. I give it here and now in order that you, who are here engaged in the prosecution of liberal and especially of theological studies, may be made fully aware that now more than ever they must be faithfully maintained. The late eloquent and fervent Edward Irving, looking out on a somewhat similar state of the religious world in his day, delivered a series of what he styled Orations, specifically for the benefit of the rich; and if there be any truth in the gospel of Christ at all, such preaching will always continue to be at least as necessary as any preaching to the poor. Earnestly, therefore, should I deprecate any tendency on the part of the wealthier members of our congregations to make provision, in the spirit of patronage, for the religious culture of others, to the neglect of an adequate provision, in the spirit of humility and faith, for their own: and I am sure that no more lamentable condition of things could ever arise than that in which an inferior intellectual and theological culture should prove sufficient for the religious demands of the more educated and influential classes, who would then cease to "grow in knowledge and in all goodness," and by degrees lose the very power of discerning and approving the things that are really excellent. Moreover, I am fully convinced from what I observe as well as from what common sense might suggest, that, as a rule, the men of the highest education and culture are, like the Two Thousand Ejected, the best preachers of the Gospel, whether to rich or poor.

There is one exercise of a cultivated discrimination and of high moral principle which is peculiarly demanded of the Christian ministry in these days, and for which you, my friends, must sedulously endeavour to qualify yourselves: it is that which shall enable you to discern that, as Christian ministers, you are to be the servants of Christ, in the spirit of obedience to him,

and to the truth which he came to reveal and attest. The example of the Two Thousand Ejected is strongly confirmatory of this lesson. They determined, after the avowal of St. Paul, to know nothing in the religious societies with which they were connected, but Jesus the Christ, and him crucified. They would not teach for doctrines the commandments of men, nor would they permit the substitution of anything in place of religious instruction and devotional culture. It was through this determination that they wrought so great a change in the world during their own age, as the apostles had done in the apostolic age. "They meddled only with the religion of Jesus Christ," it has been truly said; "but that, faithfully preached, meddles with everything else on earth." You will have much to try your fidelity here. There is often a tendency to substitute other objects and influences for those of Christianity. Be faithful to the truth and ministration of the gospel which you profess by earnestly endeavouring to gain clear, consistent, comprehensive views of its nature and character. Magnify your office as dispensers of the Word of truth and grace, and see that you dispense that Word, and let none despise your youth. Be definite in your opinions and strict in your principles, in order that you may be liberal and generous in your sentiments and sympathies; and then you will find, if I mistake not, after the experience of its first apostles and preachers, that the gospel of Christ is what St. James calls it, "the perfect law of liberty," i. e. that while having all the stringency of a Divine law, its adaptation to all the needs and capacities of the human soul is so full and perfect, that it abundantly satisfies them all, and renders them at the same time susceptible of that continual expansion and elevation which enables us ever to aspire after the perfection of our immortal nature and the fulfilment of our eternal destiny.

Be ever faithful, then, as the servants of Christ so long as you intelligently and conscientiously look up to him as your divinely commissioned Teacher and Lord. Should you ever come to doubt his divine authority, as some men have done, and as others therefore may yet do, be faithful to your own convictions of truth and duty, and in the avowal of them; and in thus acting, though you cannot call Jesus *Lord*, you will in effect be doing some of the very things which he has chiefly enjoined. Believing that the great principles of Christianity are suited to man in every condition, I would have you to notice among them how strict fidelity to conscience, according to our light, is a principle of universal obligation. This principle admits of no exception or limitation whatever. Obedience to it brought our English Presbyterian forefathers into the knowledge and enjoyment of a spiritual freedom of which they had never dreamed before, and under God's moral providence can make even conscientious

unbelief of what is special in Christianity conducive to religious faith, which an insincere profession of the most evangelical creed never can be. In the well-known words in which our gifted Laureate has embalmed for all time the memory of his departed friend,—

“Perplex'd in faith but pure in deeds,
At last he beat his music out :
There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.”

(*In Memoriam.*)

Observe only, but observe carefully, that the doubt must be *honest*, not careless, not indolent, not presumptuous, not affected; and when honestly felt must be as honestly confessed. For thus reads the solemn admonition of the same poet :

“Hold thou the good : define it well :
For fear divine philosophy
Should push beyond her mark, and be
Procuress to the lords of hell.”

Once more : The very sacrifices and sufferings of the Ejected Ministers called out all the energies, not only of their minds but of their hearts, and made them eloquent and earnest preachers of the Word of life. The circumstances in which they were frequently placed after their ejection were such as often precluded them from reliance on the aid of carefully-prepared manuscripts in their endeavours to proclaim the life-giving Word, and cast them on the immediate resources of their own well-stored minds for the recommendation of those earnest convictions which could not therefore fail of fervent utterance. They believed and therefore they spake, and spake with a power proportioned to the strength of their belief. Such a power exercised by these noble men under the strong pressure of vivid feeling and an inevitable necessity, you will do well to endeavour to acquire and exercise of set purpose, with a view to its eminently beneficial results when employed, as in their instance, in union with sound learning and culture and strong inward conviction, such as will ever preserve it from degenerating into idle or profane babblings, or the vain repetitions of a weak and aimless garrulity. Let the greatness of your work encourage you to cultivate the most effectual methods of conviction and persuasion; and then you will naturally awaken not merely intelligence but emotion, and win mind and heart to the approval and desire of the things that are excellent. To this end you must not in the least remit your diligent attention to study and the labour of composition, but rather increase it. It is easy enough to talk by the hour with scarce any preparation; but to speak to the purpose and to the fit purpose, requires a clearness of perception, an intelligence of arrangement, an appropriateness of illustration, which can only be gained by careful and comprehensive study, and by a concentration of thought which shall tax all your mental acquisitions

and energies. Still, the end to be accomplished is worthy of all your efforts, as surely as it cannot be accomplished without them.

And in connection with these suggestions to you, I cannot but express the hope that our laity, both young and old, may also derive valuable suggestions from this Bicentenary. What is the Christian ministry without the Christian laity, but like a servant out of place? The efficiency as well as the happiness of the ministry must necessarily depend in great measure on the sympathy and co-operation of the laity; and in connection with many of the Two Thousand Ejected Ministers, how cordially and with what abundant blessedness to themselves did the wealthy laity in those troublous times recognize and reward enlightened, faithful ministerial service! Let our lay friends take this lesson to heart, and so unite together with their ministers for all the great purposes of the religious life, in which all men, whether lay or clerical, have precisely an equal concern.

To sum up and conclude these Bicentenary suggestions. After the example of the illustrious Two Thousand, be diligent in the culture of all sacred learning, and of all secular learning with an immediate reference to it. Be faithful to Christ and to his holy gospel, to truth as to liberty, to liberty as to truth; faithful especially to the convictions of your own conscience when you have taken all possible pains to enlighten it; and thus fulfil, so far as this important duty is concerned, the law of Christ. Study and exercise also the best methods of communicating yourselves to others so as to win their assent and co-operation. Clear and definite in your views and opinions, you will cherish a friendly sympathy with all intelligent and enlightened professors of the Gospel, with all intelligent and enlightened inquirers after truth, however widely differing from you, and a spirit of earnest co-operation with all with whom you agree. You will thus make full proof of your ministry, adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, and attain that true and lasting unity with your brethren which is not the unity of superstition in the bond of ignorance, nor the unity of profession in the bond of hypocrisy, nor the unity of indifference in the bond of worldliness, but the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Set this before you as one great end and reward of all your studies and labours, and you will still abundantly profit by your opportunities of free Christian culture in this College or in the wider school of the world; and, through the blessing of God on your future ministrations, will be able to save both yourselves and them that hear you. May God grant it for His infinite mercy's sake in Christ Jesus our Lord, and may His blessing rest upon you now and evermore!

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Little Walter ; or, a Mother's First Lessons on Religious Subjects. Second Edition. Whitfield. 1862.

THE blessings bestowed upon little children by our Lord Jesus Christ, and the parables of the Prodigal Son and of the Good Samaritan, are the gospel barriers against human creeds and dogmatic theologies. They affirm the spiritual nature of man, the paternal character of God, and the brotherhood of the human race, in terms which defy the qualifications and detractions of theological subtlety. With the Saviour's love, our children inherit the privilege of religious instruction, and it is therefore natural to seek at the same source for the principles and methods by which that instruction should be regulated. Unfortunately this rule is in many instances disregarded, and though the children's claims are admitted, the religious instruction provided for them is drawn from a very different source. The competition of sects for the education of the children of the poor is now extended to the religious instruction of children of all classes; and theological zealots are engaged in manufacturing a juvenile literature imbued with the grossest forms of popular orthodoxy. We are obliged to inspect with jealous care the numerous books, often outwardly attractive, put forth for the use of the young. Among the publications of one Society in particular are to be found compilations of meagre information, with gay pictures and a plentiful infusion of Scripture texts with orthodox glosses. Books professing to teach the elements of natural history are made the vehicles for inculcating technical piety, and contain casual and almost flippant references to religious doctrines in a style which cannot fail to render sacred subjects distasteful, or to produce a shallow and hypocritical familiarity with religious phrases. To our minds there is an essential incompatibility between the thoughts and feelings of a child and the idea of a wrathful God whose anger is appeased by the sacrifice of the innocent; and we believe that the natural tendencies of the child to higher modes of thought are gradually getting the better of the orthodox system. Suppose the total corruption of human nature to be true,—grant the desperate wickedness of the infant's heart,—allow the sin of Adam practical prominence,—demand the acceptance by faith of the wrath-appeasing or justice-satisfying sacrifice,—place all these obstacles at the entrance of religious ideas into the mind of the child, and where can the work of religious instruction begin? The answer to this question is to be found at the source already indicated,—“Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not:” and let no theological gloss interpose in the midst of Christ's words, and urge that to “come unto Jesus” involves the doctrines which we deny; for the close of the invitation grounds its claims in the very nature of the child, “for of such is the kingdom of heaven,” and vindicates for ever the child's original and natural right to the divine instruction and the eternal inheritance. Any work intending to commence the religious instruction of children should then be based on the child's own title to the kingdom. In reply to the doctrinal pretensions, we ask, are children's minds readier to perceive wrong than right? Is the feeling of reverence and awe weaker

than that of terror? Is the idea of God strange or distasteful to the mind of a child?

The little book now before us is a practical answer to these questions, whose refutation may safely be left to the responses which its lessons are sure to call forth from the hearts of the young. The first edition of "Little Walter" appeared in 1855, and has long been out of print. It now appears in a second edition in a larger and handsomer form, and with many additional hymns. The framework of the book is something between the older style of "conversations" and the later form of the "domestic tale." There is a slight element of story in it, but only sufficient as a thread to support the succession of religious lessons. It aims to convey religious instruction through the maternal influence and in conformity with the instincts of childhood. Little Walter is the pupil and his mother is a widow, and the simple events of infancy are the occasions of the mother's lessons. Beginning with the perception of construction and design in a toy, the child is led on to contemplate the existence of living things with a principle of growth and the power of self-direction in themselves: and from the consciousness in himself of a soul which can think and love and choose, he is led through the perception of a power overruling the lower animals in their instincts, to the idea of the Divine Power which enables the soul to distinguish right and wrong and to apprehend Himself. These things are taught in language which any child may understand; but there is no attempt to force the formal argument on the minds of the young. The course of instruction may be seen in the headings of the Lessons. We take a few of them as an illustration. 1. God, the Creator of us and of all Things. 2. Man has a Soul. 3. Instinct, Conscience, Man's Power of Choosing. 4. The Worth of the Soul;—and so on. Lesson 9 is called, "God ever working throughout the Spiritual World." It contains a simple story of moral resolve, and shews how, by working in obedience to the Supreme will, we are guided to the better knowledge of God, and are helped by His Spirit to the attainment of greater degrees of love and goodness. The lessons on Prayer are good, and there is much tenderness in the way in which the child is brought through the feeling of a mother's love to trust the Heavenly Father and to seek His love. Every lesson—there are thirty-two in all—is introduced with references to books suitable to be read to children on the subject of the lesson, and is closed with a few passages of Scripture and a selection of hymns. We highly approve of the large use which is made of the Hymns in Prose by Mrs. Barbauld, those sweet strains of early piety dearly associated in a thousand homes with the soft tones of the young mother's voice. By these compositions, and by the numerous selected hymns and poems, the "Mother's First Lessons" acquire a strength and fulness that render "Little Walter" no unacceptable manual of devout meditations for grown-up people. In the contemplation of religious objects there is indeed no great distance between the lisplings of childhood and the prayers of men, who, except as they become as little children, may not enter into the kingdom of God. It is no proof of the fitness of a book for the religious instruction of children that it is distasteful to the minds of the adult. The contrary rather is true; and by this test much of our juvenile literature will undoubtedly be condemned. We may be over-careful about exceeding the bounds of childlike thought, if we

forget that the highest religious teachings exceed our own thoughts; and we may fall into the error of impairing the apprehension of the religious ideas by attempting to narrow spiritual things to the supposed deficiencies of the infant mind. "Little Walter" is presented as the first of a "series of books containing a systematic course of religious instruction." We hope the promise of this announcement will be properly carried out. This book is introductory, and requires to be followed up by a fuller exposition of Christianity. The character and influence of Jesus and his words and works as the living personal revelation of Christianity, is not the subject of Little Walter. It may be intended in the continuance of the series.

Before bringing our notice to a close, we must point out an oversight in the history of Samuel in the Thirty-first Lesson, where Hannah is described as taking her son up to live with the priests and serve God in the beautiful temple or church that there was at Jerusalem. A little consideration should have reminded the writer that the ark was then in the tabernacle at Shiloh in Ephraim, that Jerusalem was no city of Israel till the reign of David, and that there was no temple till the time of Solomon. In a book like the present, however, such an error is incidental and does not affect its essence. In conclusion, we commend Little Walter to the home circle and to the higher classes in Sunday-schools. We know from experience that children will read it with pleasure. It touches the deeper springs of thought and feeling; but in making use of the book, its deeper lessons should be left to make their own impressions, and the parent or teacher should be careful not rudely to probe or test their results on the children's minds. An immature excitement of religious feeling is probably worse than a sturdy self-reliance with some religious deficiencies. By its own womanly tenderness, Little Walter will win its way into many hearts, and draw forth the religious sentiments towards the formation of pious and manly character.

Scattered Leaves. By Henry Sewell Stokes. Pp. 53. London—Longman and Co. 1862.

MR. STOKES sustains in this volume of verse the reputation for the sweet utterance of bright, cheerful and manly thoughts, which he earned many years ago in his earlier poem, "The Vale of Lanherne." The "Scattered Leaves" gathered in this little book consist of occasional poems—the brief but earnest breathings of one who thinks it well to mingle with the toils of professional life the relaxations of literature and poetry. There is such good sense and right manly feeling running through all these occasional verses, that none of the author's clients need regard him as a mere dreamer, or distrust his law because he can pen a sweet and feeling stanza.

The volume begins with a poem entitled "The Gate of Heaven," originally having reference to a church at Truro. The catholic spirit of the poem is manifest in the lines that follow:

"The Gate of Heaven is where? The village Spire
Points as the sons of toil the way inquire,
Whose rugged forms there bend the knee as well
As daintier limbs where pealing anthems swell.

On the bleak moor, where four bare walls appear,
 When labour ceases and the stars shine clear,
 Uncultured voices raise the fervent hymn
 A Wesley penn'd when Faith's old lamp grew dim,
 Kindling a sacred fire in simple hearts,
 Such as no learning yields, no pomp imparts:
 From that low roof ascends the poor man's prayer,
 Nor doubt we that one Gate of Heaven is there.
 Wherever two or three together meet,
 His presence is—His house—His mercy-seat;
 And when the sinner went apart and pray'd,
 In Heaven were heard the few short words he said.

"'Tis nigh, wherever contrite hearts are found,
 Mansion or cot, green hill, or cavern'd ground
 Where pallid labour pants, or on the waves
 Where the bluff seaman rock and tempest braves;
 Where their last sigh upon the blood-stained heath
 Soldiers in prayer for home and country breathe;
 And where at midnight through his dungeon bars
 On the lone captive gleam the trembling stars:
 Where Magdalens forsake the shameless street,
 And once again would kiss the Saviour's feet;
 Where some dear child of beauty, pure and meek,
 Shows by the flush upon her faded cheek
 The fatal blight within, nor long shall wait
 The gentle hand that will unfold Heaven's Gate."

There is another passage in the poem which we would quote descriptive of the Christian preacher, were it not that to our ear its harmony is marred by the unmetrical line,—

"And breasts obdurate heave with sighs subdued."

The verses which refer to Galileo's noted words, "*E pur si muove*" ("It does move though!"), though light and almost jocular in tone, are pervaded by a deeper spirit. The poet refers happily to the statues in the Oxford Museum which tell who are the world's acknowledged instructors and benefactors.

"Changed is the scene, and changed the hour,
 And stranger things await you;
 In Oxford's academic bower
 Stands Galiléo's statue,

"By Newton's, near sad Priestley's form,
 In Bacon's noble presence:
 That's something, sir, your heart to warm,
 And prove truth's vital essence.

"So the world moves—what few to-day,
 Many will ken to-morrow;
 The earth goes round, the sun's fix'd ray
 Dispels all doubt and sorrow.

"In Santa Croce calm he sleeps,
 While a new day is breaking;
 And strong as aye the world's heart leaps,
 And the dry bones are shaking."

The lines entitled "*A Statesman*" speak the national sentiment respecting Lord Palmerston.

"Whether to doubt or trust thee some scarce knew,
 Ev'n when they most admired thy skill of fence,
 Thy bold retorts, thy wit, thy eloquence;
 Yet were they ever fain to think thee true,
 And those who have misgivings now are few.
 Nay, is there one, in this our trying hour,
 For whom thy name is not a shield and tower
 Against whatever dangers may ensue?
 We gaze in wonder at the changeful years
 Still leave that brow without a wrinkle smooth,
 Albeit burden'd with a nation's cares:
 Mature in thought while young; in heart a youth
 When age should almost make the blood run cold:
 No foe of England finds thee growing old."

Outlines of a Christian Faith. By Charles Clement Coe. Pp. 164.
 London—Whitfield.

THIS little volume is a most creditable specimen of faithful pastoral teaching. Prepared for the benefit of the younger members of the flock at Leicester, it is a brief outline map of Christian doctrine, drawn with a bold and firm hand, and with as much filling in of scripture proofs as was necessary to make the subjects treated intelligible and impressive. The subjects discussed in the nineteen chapters of this volume are, the Unity and Spirituality of God, Revelation, Providence, Emmanuel, the Word made Flesh, the Perfect Man, the Sinless Life, the Prodigal Son and his Return, the One Thing needful, Saving Faith, God reconciled to Man, Facts and Figures, Everlasting Life, the Never-changing Spirit, Never-ceasing Torment, the Christian Church and the Lord's Supper. The headings of his chapters indicate that Mr. Coe's work is essentially scriptural. He is not content to take a text and then to propound a philosophical thesis having no apparent connection with scripture, but he makes his doctrinal statements on the authority of scripture, and where he is necessitated to depart, as occasionally he is, from the letter, he shews that he does so from respect for the spirit of Holy Writ.

On the great subject of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, he takes the scriptural rather than the philosophical (?) view, and treats the rising of Christ from the grave on the third day as a well-attested fact, not a delusion in the minds of the apostles. He grapples with the new theory of a spiritual rather than a bodily resurrection, and succeeds, as others have done before him, in overthrowing it. The passage is a fair specimen of Mr. Coe's mode of conducting a scripture argument:

"There are certain passages which are supposed to favour the idea of a spiritual body. The writer of Mark xvi. 9—20, says in his twelfth verse, 'He appeared in another form unto two of them.' Alford explains this verse as an epitome of Luke xxiv. 15, 16, which explains the reason in that 'their eyes were holden.' The same reasoning would apply to Matt. xxviii. 17, which narrates that while some worshipped, others doubted. This may have reference to the unbelief of Thomas (John xx.), and have nothing to do with the nature of the manifestation. But the strongest passages in favour of this view are those which describe the sudden coming and going of Christ. 'When the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled, for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst.' John xx. 19. 'Their eyes were opened

and they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight.' Luke xxiv. 31. Now our first question is, where do these words occur, and in what connection? Of course, from the use made of them in the argument, we should expect to find them in connection with a purely spiritual manifestation; but after the sudden appearance through (?) closed doors, Jesus shows them his hands and his side (John xx.); after his mysterious appearance in their midst, he offers himself for their inspection and eats before their eyes; before he vanishes out of their sight he sits at meat and eats with them. Now, if these expressions prove the existence of a spiritual body, they prove it with these restrictions, that it was material enough to eat and drink and to be handled and embraced; but also immaterial enough to pass through closed doors and suddenly to vanish into thin air. Surely the incongruity of the narrative thus explained will strike all.

"If we be asked how Christ came so suddenly and left so mysteriously, if he was really in the flesh, the explanation does not seem difficult. Excepting the account of the Ascension, we have but one description of the way in which those awful interviews were closed, and in that it is said that Jesus vanished out of their sight. It is quite possible that the arrangements of the house at Emmaus, and the solemn awe with which the astonished disciples were regarding him, may have favoured his sudden departure. When the disciples sat with closed doors for fear of the Jews, *i.e.*, of the rulers, it was probably in some large house which was a rendezvous, the doors of which would be watched for the purpose of admitting friends and excluding foes. Christ might pass the door unchallenged as a friend, and make himself known as soon as he was in their midst. This sort of interpretation seems necessary to explain the narrative and make it consistent with itself.

"The testimony of Paul is adduced. Paul reports what he has heard from others, and narrates what he has seen himself; but it does not follow that all the appearances he speaks of were of the same kind; nor is it necessary that we should explain the fact of a terrestrial re-appearance in accordance with Paul's theory concerning a future state. We say this to guard ourselves against any possible collision between Paul and the Evangelists; but we believe that, so far from there being any such collision, the theory of Paul affords the only explanation of all the facts of the Evangelists. We do not believe that Christ now wears his mortal body, because he once resumed it to impart comfort to his bereaved disciples, and through them the hope of immortality to the world. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be,' but we have a strong conviction of what will not be. We wear out many bodies during our sojourn upon earth, and their materials go to form bodies for other men. We cannot, therefore, think of an immortal human body in the same sense as we speak of an immortal human spirit, which amid all change is always the same individual. But the difficulty from this point of view is to explain what became of the physical body of Christ after the resurrection. We do not profess to know when, and how, and where, Christ laid it aside. But the theory of Paul would lead us to suppose that the physical body rose from the tomb, and that the spiritual body ascended into heaven. His theory is, that there is a spiritual and a natural body; that the natural body perishes in the grave, and that the soul is clothed with a spiritual body in a future state. He distinctly declares that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven; and that corruption cannot inherit incorruption. Those who still survive at the last day will be changed, at the same time that the dead are raised incorruptible, so that all will be clothed with spiritual bodies. Christ, if raised corruptible, would require to be changed, according to this theory, before he was received up into heaven. At what period between his resurrection and ascension this change happened, we do not presume to define. This is the result which Paul's theory would give. Whether true or not, it seems to us the only way of removing difficulty from the fact, and incoherence from the narrative, of the Resurrection."—Pp. 131—134.

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH.

A Monument in Memory of John Bunyan (May 21), erected over his ashes in the Bunhill-Fields cemetery, was inaugurated by Lord Shaftesbury. Like other out-of-door proceedings in this unhappy English climate, the effect of the ceremony was marred by heavy rain. It is to be regretted that the occasion was not taken for originating some proceedings to save the entire cemetery from the desecration to which it may in a few years be doomed on the expiration of the lease. But surely neither Parliament nor the people of England will permit ground so sacred as that in which lie the remains of hundreds whose memory is a national honour, to be alienated from its original purpose, and desecrated by the erection of dwelling-houses or shops!

Lord Ebury's Bill (May 27).—A debate full of interest to those who value religious liberty arose in the House of Lords on the second reading of Lord Ebury's Bill for amending the Act of Uniformity. In the course of his speech, Lord Ebury read a strange letter from Rev. J. Crompton, of Norwich, complaining of his exclusion from the Church by the requirement of subscription, and stating that he had been compelled to relinquish the pulpit of the Octagon chapel, Norwich, because he could not preach the peculiar negative doctrines of the Unitarian denomination. Mr. Crompton has strangely forgotten his own published statements. When reprinting, with our consent from the pages of our Magazine, the History of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, he prefixed some introductory remarks, in the course of which he said, "The congregation is free;" and he gave to the Unitarianism of the congregation this definition: it "means the maintenance of the fundamentals of Christianity in perfect freedom of interpretation." And again he said: "The liberal congregations of England are possessed of principles and feelings and a freedom which shew their power and truth now by leading them to recognize and welcome everything that is holy and noble wherever manifesting itself, without regard to sect or name, and which will one day be incorporated in the 'Church of the Future.'" If this statement was true in 1848, what are we to think of Mr. Crompton's attack in 1862 on his old friends and former fellow-worshippers? They, we know, cherish feelings towards him of affectionate remembrance and respect, and must have been not a little wounded by this outbreak of

spleen. In his letter to Lord Ebury, Mr. Crompton added that he would willingly (but for subscription) join the Church of England, from which he professes to have no doctrinal difference. The doctrine of the Church of England is embodied and represented in the Prayer-Book, and in it alone. If Mr. Crompton has no doctrinal differences from it, he is better qualified to serve with sincerity at the altars of the National Church than nine-tenths of the English clergy. This episode is a curious illustration of what the so-called "anti-sectarianism" often leads to. Of the debate itself we must find another opportunity of speaking. It did not, we think, help to strengthen what are called the "outposts of the Church of England." The speech of the Bishop of Oxford, the only thorough speech in resistance of Lord Ebury, was one that would have done credit to the sagacity and ingenuousness of a disciple of Loyola.

New Chapel at Hampstead (June 5).—The beautiful new Unitarian chapel at Hampstead was opened by a religious service conducted by Dr. Sadler and Rev. James Martineau. Notwithstanding a lowering sky and a cold and damp afternoon, the friends of Dr. Sadler afterwards assembled in considerable numbers in a tent to celebrate the event of the day by a social meeting. Some differences of opinion on the signs of the times and the temper and spirit of the Unitarian body were evolved, but all agreed in doing honour to the fidelity and Christian spirit of the pastor, who has succeeded in building up the fine congregation at Hampstead, and for whom this new church has been erected. The Chairman, Mr. Richard Martineau, not unhappily described it as a testimonial to Dr. Sadler. The only drawback from the value and significance of the offering so richly deserved is the debt of £700 on the building account. Let the congregation do honour to their pastor and themselves by paying off without delay this burthen. Could they find a better mode of celebrating the Bicentennial anniversary?

Case of Mr. Heath (June 6).—Lord Cranworth delivered the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in this case. In reply to an appeal to him to revoke unreservedly the passages in his sermons articulated against as repugnant to the Articles of 1562, the defendant said he had nothing to revoke. The Court then confirmed the judgment of the Court of Arches, with costs against Mr. Heath.

He is thus deprived of a living of the value of £600. The proceedings are of a kind to make many Churchmen and some clergymen of considerable mark far from easy.

Social Science Congress (June 6).—The annual session of the Social Science Congress was inaugurated by an eloquent sermon in Westminster Abbey by Dr. Hook, the Dean of Chichester. The preacher recognized the fact that the Association did not and could not profess in its corporate capacity "to adopt any particular form of Christianity, or to subscribe to any specific articles of faith." The sermon was conceived in the spirit of this statement, and was an admirable specimen of true catholicism. How little does the Church lose and how much does it gain when its more eminent clergy speak and act in a spirit of wise liberality like this!

General Baptist Assembly (June 10).—This Assembly met at Worship Street. The religious service was conducted by Rev. F. R. Young and Rev. W. H. Black. In the business meeting a resolution was adopted commemorative of the ejection of the Two Thousand clergy, and rebuking the arrogant and intolerant spirit engendered by the State establishment of churches.

British and Foreign Unitarian Association (June 11).—The thirty-seventh anniversary was held at Essex-Street chapel. A noble sermon was preached by Rev. William Gaskell, which we rejoice to hear is immediately to be published. The business meeting, under the presidency of Mr. J. A. Turner, M.P., was as interesting as harmonious. The report described the discouragements of the Indian missions, and directed attention more to home objects. The prosperous condition of the Society's finances justifying the adoption of new plans, the Committee recommended the establishment of three missions, one in Scotland, another in Staffordshire, and a third in the Weald of Kent or some other district requiring aid. The recommendations were cordially adopted. The announcement of the completion of the Revised Translation of the Old Testament was welcomed by a resolution proposed by Rev. J. J. Tayler and seconded by Mr. Long. Sir John Bowring paid a feeling and eloquent tribute to the memory of the late Prince Consort. Mr. Edmund Potter, M.P., was elected President for the ensuing year. A numerous party assembled in the afternoon at the Freemasons' Hall, under Mr. Turner's presidency. Among the guests was the Rev. Dr. Miles, whose simple eloquence made considerable impression, and whose genial kindness towards the English people called forth a warm

response from the meeting. To his other valued services of the day, the President added that of a handsome donation to the funds of the Association. New subscriptions from Glasgow and other places were announced. A more successful and useful anniversary the Association has not for many years enjoyed.

The Sunday-School Association held its annual breakfast (June 12), under the able presidency of Rev. P. W. Clayden, of Nottingham. The only unpleasing feature of the proceedings was the announcement of a balance against the Society of £103, notwithstanding great exertions on the part of the Treasurer, Mr. Frederick Nettlefold. A collection was made, which realized about one-third of the required amount.

London District Unitarian Society.—In the evening of June 12, this Society held its annual meeting at Radley's Hotel, under the presidency of Samuel Sharpe, Esq. The financial statement shewed an expenditure of £337, and a balance of debt of £63. We would earnestly warn the financial managers of our religious Societies against the habit of exceeding their income. It cannot come to good either in the case of societies or individuals. If there is an important work to be done, which is temporarily checked through want of means, let the public at once be informed of the fact, and the probability is that the needed money will be supplied, at least if the value of the object aimed at is recognized. The report and several of the speeches brought into pleasant view the very important and successful working of the mission at Stamford Street, under the indefatigable conduct of Rev. Robert Spears. Some of the most interesting speeches of the evening had no direct bearing on the work of the Society, the Rev. F. R. Young giving a very detailed and impressive account of his mission at Swindon and its very satisfactory results. He appealed earnestly to the Unitarian body to strengthen him with increased means. Another zealous workman, Rev. J. Robertson, gave a striking account of his work at Halstead. The Society loses the services of Alderman J. C. Lawrence, who has been its indefatigable Secretary, and is succeeded by Mr. Henry J. Preston, in conjunction with Mr. John Warren.

Carmarthen College.—The annual examination of the students took place, June 15—19. The examiners were Rev. T. L. Marshall, Rev. E. Higginson, Rev. Dr. S. C. Davison and Rev. J. E. Jones. Towards the close of the proceedings, the examination of the competitors for the prizes given by Mr. Samuel Sharpe took

place. The subjects of this examination comprehended papers on Old-Testament chronology and vivâ-voce answers to a series of questions founded on the Scriptures. These questions being, for the most part, of a curious and recondite character, excite much attention and emulation in the College, and encourage, while they test, the accurate scriptural knowledge by which Welsh students are generally distinguished. The successful competitors were Mr. Enoch Jones, first prize; Mr. John Evans, second prize. An unusually large number of candidates for admission to the College presented themselves for examination. Seventeen were found duly qualified and were admitted accordingly, making the whole number of students for the next session thirty-seven. On Friday, the prizes were distributed to the most diligent and successful members of the several classes by the Rev. T. L. Marshall, after an appropriate and forcible address of advice and encouragement in regard to their future studies.

The Provincial Assembly of the counties of Lancaster and Chester met at Chowbent (June 19). A powerful and eloquent sermon was preached by Rev. John Gordon, of which the publication was earnestly desired. The preacher dwelt on the sacrifices to conscience made by the clergy ejected in 1662, and the duties which devolve on the successors and representatives of the early Nonconformists. On the calling over the role of ministers, Rev. Nixon Porter declared himself unwilling to belong to an Association which bore the name of Unitarian as one of its titles. Other ministers pleaded that their religious liberty was not to be circumscribed by the doubts of another man. If Mr. Porter disliked the name Unitarian, he might satisfy himself with that of Presbyterian. Of the reports of the missionary branch of the Association, we hope to have another opportunity of speaking hereafter. On the following day the Widows' Fund held its meeting, under the presidency of Rev. Franklin Baker. The deaths of ministers belonging to the Fund have during the past twelve months much exceeded the average.

The London Domestic Mission held its annual meeting (June 23) at the Music Hall in Store Street. Able and impres-

sive sermons were preached on the previous day by Rev. Samuel Martin, of Trowbridge, in the morning in the chapel of Little Portland Street, and in the evening at Essex Street. Liberal collections, exceeding in amount £60, were made. The business meeting, under the presidency of Rev. Dr. Sadler, was well attended, especially by ministers and friends from the country. Interesting reports of their work were made by the missionaries, Mr. Corkran and Mr. Broome. The former bore grateful testimony to the liberality of the friends of the Mission, who never allowed any appeal he made to their pecuniary generosity to be unanswered. He asked earnestly for a greater amount of personal aid from the friends of the Mission. Some admirable addresses were made by Rev. Samuel Martin, Rev. Brooke Herford and Rev. Charles Beard.

Manchester New College (June 23—26). The annual examination of the students took place in University Hall before Rev. Samuel Bache, Rev. John Kenrick, Rev. William Gaskell, and many friends of the Institution. The examination in the several departments by the Professors of each was, we believe, generally very creditable to the industry of the students. It was matter of congratulation that the health of the students has this year been less injuriously affected than on previous occasions. Sermons of a very high character of merit in respect to the thoughts, style and elocution, were delivered by Mr. Alexander Gordon and Mr. Howse. The proceedings of the examination were brought to a close on the afternoon of the 25th of June by a judicious and impressive address from the Rev. Samuel Bache, of the merits of which our readers can at once form their own opinion. The President of the College, Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., afterwards entertained at a sumptuous banquet at Richmond the Professors and some of the principal officers and friends of the College. The party also included several of the Professors of University College, some of the Masters of University College School, and several Members of Parliament. Among many graceful acts of hospitality which have marked this Exhibition year in the metropolis, none was more happy than this *réunion* of so many friends of liberal and perfectly free education.

OBITUARY.

Went to her rest, on Sunday, the 4th of May, at Northampton, AGNES IERSON, at the age of 36. She was married in 1852

to the Rev. Henry Ierson, now of Islington, and leaves three surviving children, their first child having died in infancy. She had

suffered greatly for some years, with only occasional intervals of relief, from the pulmonary disorder, which seemed at last to have exhausted the powers of nature, so that she had learned to anticipate her death as a happy and desired release. She died with the most tranquil and thoughtful assurance of the blessed hope in Christ, and in firm faith in the Heavenly Father's goodness. For the last two days of her life on earth she enjoyed, as she had not done for many months before, perfect freedom from pain, and was enabled to converse much with those about her. All who saw her were struck with the calm and happy tone of her mind in preparation for the impending change. To those who so much loved her it will prove a source of abiding consolation to reflect upon the childlike trust with which she was assisted to give herself up to God's will. In the most complete sense of the word, her end was peace. The sustaining power of our simple but sublime faith was never more fully verified. She had always in former years looked forward to death with some dread, and she was naturally more anxious in her habit of mind than sanguine and hopeful. But as the hour drew near, all thoughts of alarm at the possible painfulness of the transition disappeared, and she bade farewell to her family with the same trust for them with which she was herself prepared to enter the better life. They will never forget a scene in which was so manifestly present the ministering aid of Divine support.

She died at her father's house, whither she had been ordered to go for the change which seemed to offer the last possible hope of even a temporary recovery. But she had felt for some time that her life could not be prolonged, and with this conviction came an ever-increasing submissiveness and resignation. She had been always of a serious cast of mind, and much delighted in earnest, religious conversation. She was a woman of varied and refined tastes, of considerable culture and information, in the communication of which in the instruction of her children she was singularly happy and took great pleasure. She often confessed how much of the beauty of divine truth, conveyed in the character and lessons of Christ, she learned in her Sunday-evening readings of the Scriptures with them. It was a great denial to her that her weak state of health prevented her taking part in the work of the Sunday-school, in which she always felt great interest.

Her amiable and sympathetic character, united with her sound judgment, and the possession of a natural but highly culti-

vated style in which to communicate her thoughts, rendered her peculiarly at home in the society from which it was one of her trials to be so much debarred. Her letters were always as admirable in composition as they were expressive of the genuine feelings of her heart. She had been from her earliest childhood a diligent and painstaking scholar. She was for three years, along with a younger sister, a pupil in the Scottish Institution, or Ladies' College, in Moray Place, Edinburgh, and it was there that she became acquainted with her future husband, at that time a student in the University. When they met afterwards, on her return from Paris, where she had been at school during the revolution of 1848, he had already ceased to minister amongst the orthodox churches. Her sympathies, which had been always liberal, coincided entirely with this altered position; she was a genuine Unitarian in heart, and during all the subsequent years of her life appreciated everything that was most Christian in belief, most self-denying and benevolent in practice, in the body to which she now belonged.

The number of her intimacies amongst them was necessarily limited, but those who had the privilege of more familiar intercourse with a character so rich in excellences, remember with kindly sorrow her faithful and affectionate friendship. It will enshrine her memory to them in pleasing, though for themselves also mournful, associations, to know that as the end approached her character appeared in all its purest forms. In the solemn presence of death, all the best attributes of her nature seemed to find unhindered manifestation. The ideal of what she had ever herself desired to be, of her truest nature,—the ideal which friendship conceives in those it loves,—was realized in her singular, childlike simplicity and trustfulness, and in her thoughtful attention to the welfare of others. She acknowledged the merciful hand of God in all that she had suffered, and looked with pious faith to Jesus as his own appointed way to the Father.

It should be added that her zeal for the welfare of the congregation to which her husband ministered was unvarying and earnest, although she was so little able to hold much personal intercourse with them. It was evidently an added disappointment amongst her many trials that she was obliged to think that she might not be permitted to take part in the opening of the new church at Islington, which had been for so long a time a subject of common interest between them.

She was interred at her own request in

the cemetery at Highgate, where her child already lay. At the grave, the service was closed by an address and the offering of prayer by the Rev. Iden Payne, of Northampton, who had visited her in her last illness. On the following Sunday, Mr. Payne preached in the Islington school-room on two well-chosen subjects of Christian consolation, gratefully instructing those who loved and mourned to anticipate the re-union in the "many mansions" of the "Father's house," where "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

May 30, in her 93rd year, Miss ELIZABETH FAVELL, who throughout her long life was a devoted and liberal member of the Unitarian chapel, Rotherham, which will suffer by her decease a great and irreparable loss. From her childhood upwards, she had been accustomed to appear Sunday after Sunday, morning and evening, till within the last eighteen months, in her pew with as much regularity as the minister in his pulpit. She was one of the fortunate few who never will acknowledge the listening to a sermon to be a dull business; her eyes were never known to weary through the most protracted exhortation. Probably there are few Unitarians who could boast to have listened to more sermons; at the same time, worship in the house of God was always her first concern. And when at the last her strength no longer permitted, to her great grief, her attendance at public worship, it was always with peculiar gratification that she received at her home a weekly service for reading and prayer from the minister of the chapel. As her great age will intimate, she was one of the small remnant, becoming every year less, of those who lived through the transition period of our church from Arianism to Unitarianism. She could well remember being on a visit at Birmingham at the time of the Priestley riots, and the great terror she then as a young girl felt.

Among her many interesting local recollections, she could remember the use of "Watts' Hymn-book" in the Unitarian, then Presbyterian, chapel, Rotherham. It was always a standing joke between her and the Rev. Brooke Herford, who was the means of changing at Rotherham the subsequent "Kippis' Collection" for "Martineau's Hymn-book," that when he proposed the alteration to her, she objected, "because they had had a new hymn-book so recently," Kippis' having been in use more than forty years!

It was her lot to outlive the long ministrations of three, at least, of the greatly respected ministers of this chapel, including the Rev. W. Allard, the Rev. Dr. Warwick, and the late Rev. Jacob Brettell. Her health in general was marvelously good, and her mind was clear to the last, blessings attributable in chief measure to her great temperance and frugality of life. Her remains were interred in her vault in the chapel on June 3rd.

In the course of the funeral sermon for the deceased, preached by the Rev. William Blazeby, B.A., minister of the chapel, the following tribute was paid to her memory:—

"One who was wont to worship in this chapel from week to week, and who saw more than one generation of worshippers here rise up and pass away, has herself at length rested from her labours. How beautifully and appropriately do the words of the service apply in this instance—'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours.' We have now lost from our midst a long esteemed and greatly beloved friend. And to none will her memory remain more endeared than to those who have known her longest. All, indeed, who were in any way acquainted with the departed, will love to recall her great kindness, her cheerful goodness, and her general Christian worth and usefulness. She has fallen a full and rich sheaf into the arms of the heavenly reapers. Year after year, approaching close upon a century, did she continue her faithful, unassuming, guileless and excellent life. If ever a life was spent in the self-denying and charitable spirit of the Christian religion, our dear friend's was so passed. She was a truly Christian soul. It was never a selfish feeling that dictated her motives or guided her conduct. If she withheld herself from enjoying the full bounties of Providence at her command, by restraining her own desires and satisfying with rare prudence her simplest necessities, it was only that she might have the more in her power to benefit and comfort those in whom she was interested by the ties of family and the bonds of a common Christian faith. Whatever means God had placed at her disposal, she was earnestly mindful of her stewardship. She possessed a kind and generous heart. Her disposition was cheerful, hopeful and resigned. She led a life consistent throughout with the demands of Christian piety and usefulness. She was, moreover, one who conscientiously endeavoured to inform herself of the truth and will of God. She diligently read the Word of God, and

sought to guide her faith and life by the mind, example and teachings of Jesus Christ, her Lord and Saviour. The instructions of the holy gospel were not lost upon her. The utterance of faithful words from the pulpit never fell unheeded upon her ears, or failed to produce righteous fruit in her life. She had, in truth, a deep sense of life being a sacred trust, not given for, or to be given up to, frivolous pursuits or absorbing pleasures, but to be spent in a quiet, unostentatious, virtuous and useful manner. Whatever time she could devote to works of Christian usefulness, and to promote in any way the cause of the church to which she belonged, she gave up willingly and employed zealously.

"The steady devotion of her mind and soul to the principles of the Unitarian faith will have been strikingly apparent to all who knew anything of our departed friend. In the promotion of what she held to be truth never was her zeal surpassed. Never was there a more constant attendant at Sunday services. Let the weather be ever so inclement, or the difficulties what they might, while her strength remained to her, she was never found absent from a single service at the chapel. And this was entirely done from a good and earnest spirit; for to make a display of her religion was the farthest thought from her mind. And then, in her private life, how firmly and consistently she adhered to the profession she made on the Sunday! Her Unitarian faith she was never ashamed to avow, never hesitated to defend, never was backward to support. It was not the want of popular favour to her faith that caused her to love it less, but rather made her love it more. And because she saw but few to support it, her heart was not therefore depressed or afraid: all the more resolute was her adherence. It was not public opinion, or the applause of the world, or the gain of respectability, or the approbation of friends, that could have induced her to forsake what she in her conscience believed to be divine truth according to the Word of God. I cannot myself imagine that any social inducement or worldly gain, however great, could have tempted her to desert her principles or to forsake the church where those principles were maintained.

"Truly, in her entire life and profession she gave a good and faithful Christian example, and was indeed an influential, if an unobtrusive, advocate of the Christian religion in the simplicity and purity of its gospel character. With this conviction in our minds, we may rest firm, my friends, in the Christian hope that in the

fulness of her years, and in the richness of her labours, our departed sister has gone to that higher realm where the pains and sorrows and tears of the flesh do not disturb the life, and where darkness, contention and difference do not distress the church; but where mercy and truth are met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other. May the remembrance of our departed friend, therefore, be not only pleasant for us always to recall, but also an abiding incentive to us who remain yet awhile behind to a more faithful and cheerful discharge of life's daily duties, and to a more bold avowal and staunch maintenance of our Unitarian faith."

W. B.

Rotherham, June, 1862.

April 14, at Bridgwater, MARY, eldest daughter of the late Jacob WATSON, Esq.

April 23, in the 24th year of his age, JOHN MEADOWS TAYLOR, eldest son of Thomas Lombe Taylor, Esq., of Starston, near Harlestone, in Norfolk.

April 24, at Hampstead, ISAAC SOLLY LISTER, Esq., in the 67th year of his age.

April 26, at Grey Place, Bristol Road, Edgbaston, SUSANNA, the wife of Edward MARTIN, Esq., aged 82 years.

May 2, MARY ANN, aged 84, last surviving child of the late Rev. Wm. WELLS, D.D., of Brattleboro', Vermont, U.S., and formerly of Bromsgrove, Worcestershire.

May 4, SUSANNA, wife of William JOHNSTON, Esq., of Upper Clapton, in the 68th year of her age.

May 5, at her residence, Brignall House, Greville Road, Kilburn, in her 83rd year, SARAH, widow of the late William FRIEND, Esq., and niece of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey.

May 17, at the residence of his son, 18, the Crescent, Camden Road Villas, SAMUEL M. COX, Esq., formerly of Exeter, Devon, solicitor, aged 71.

May 22, at Stonygate, near Leicester, SARA, the beloved wife of James F. HOLLINGS, Esq.

May 25, ADA ELIZABETH THORNTON, the only and beloved daughter of Samuel Thornton, Esq., of the Elms, Camp Hill, Birmingham, aged 18 years.

May 28, at the house of her son, Manor

Road, Stamford Hill, REBECCA, widow of the late Mr. George SMALLFIELD, formerly of Hackney, aged 72.

June 1, at 7, Beresford Terrace, High-bury New Park, TEMPLE SUTTON, the infant son of Thomas Chatfield and Ellen CLARKE.

June 4, aged 38 years, at his residence, The Downs, Altrincham, of diphtheria, caught in attending on his patients, ALEXANDER HENRY PATERSON, Esq., M.D.

June 4, at his residence, Hollins Ter-

race, Dukinfield, in the 25th year of his age, EDWIN BROWN, eldest son of the late Thomas Brown, Stalybridge.

June 20, at Higher Broughton, Manchester, in her 79th year, MARY, widow of the late Michael SHIPMAN, Esq., formerly of Hinckley.

June 24, at the residence of his brother, Parnham House, Pembury Road, Lower Clapton, FREDERICK GOSNELL, Esq., of 3, Plowden Buildings, Middle Temple, aged 38.

MARRIAGES.

April 20, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., Mr. WM. PUGH PROBERT to Mrs. MARGARET JOLLY, widow, both of Bolton.

April 29, at Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. James Drummond, B.A., RANDAL, eldest son of Thomas HIBBERT, Esq., of Godley, to FRANCES, second daughter of William NICHOLSON, Esq., of Manchester.

May 1, at the Unitarian church, Hackney, by Rev. R. B. Aspland, M.A., CHAS. GREEN to EMMA, youngest daughter of Wm. JOHNSTON, Esq., of Upper Clapton.

May 4, at the Elder-Yard chapel, Chesterfield, by Rev. Francis Bishop, Mr. GEORGE FIDLER to Miss ANNA KIRK, both of Chesterfield.

May 10, at the Unitarian chapel, Newchurch, by Rev. George Hoade, Mr. GEO. HITCHIN to Miss MARGARET PICKUP, both of Newchurch.

May 12, at the Unitarian chapel, Wolverhampton, by Rev. T. H. M. Scott, Mr. JAMES MARTIN, of Gothoon Hill, to EMMA, fourth daughter of Mrs. BEACH, Commercial Road.

May 14, at Hyde chapel, Gee Cross, by Rev. Charles Beard, B.A., WALTER, third son of Edmund POTTER, Esq., M. P., Prince's Gardens, London, to ELIZABETH, third daughter of the late John LEECH, Esq., Gorse Hall, Stalybridge, and Kensington-Palace Gardens, London.

May 19, at the Unitarian chapel, Newport, Isle of Wight, by Rev. T. F. Thomas, Mr. HENRY SHEPPARD to Miss JANE MINNS, both of Newport.

May 19, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., Mr. THOS. BAKER, of Oldham, to MARY, daughter of the late Mr. Thomas JOHNSON, of Bolton.

May 20, at the Old meeting, Birmingham, by Rev. Charles Clarke, J. DENHAM SMITH, Esq., of Highbury, to SOPHIA, daughter of the late Richard PHILLIPS, F.R.S., of the Government School of Mines, Jermyn Street.

May 27, at All Souls' church, Langham Place, by Rev. F. Palmer, M.A., Loughton, Essex, CHARLES, only son of J. P. ASTON, Esq., of Higher Broughton, Manchester, to FRANCES AMELIA, eldest daughter of Philip WESTCOTT, Esq., Cavendish Square, London.

May 31, at the Unitarian chapel, Birkenhead, by Rev. William Binns, Mr. WILLIAM JOHN HANDS, of York, to JANE, eldest daughter of Mr. Henry WALKER, of Tranmere Vale, Birkenhead.

June 4, at Upper Brook-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. James Drummond, B.A., the Rev. EDWIN SMITH, M.A. minister of the chapel, to ANNIE, daughter of Edward SHAWCROSS, Esq., Willow Bank, Higher Broughton.

June 12, at the Presbyterian chapel, Bury, JOHN BEBBY, Jun., of Liverpool, to FANNY CAROLINE, eldest daughter of Edmund Tertius GRUNDY, of Bury.

June 15, in the Church of the Messiah, Birmingham, by Rev. S. Bache, GEORGE WEBB to ESTHER SARAH LINEKER.—This being the first marriage celebrated in this church, the minister presented the wedded pair with a Bible.

Recently, at the Unitarian chapel, High Street, Portsmouth, by Rev. H. Hawkes, THOMAS BOND, chapel librarian, to EMMA GILLMORE, both of Southsea—GEORGE WILLIAM ELLICOTT CORNHILL, of H. M. Dockyard, to CAROLINE SARAH SHERREEN, both of Landport—ALBERT GAUIS DENCH, of H. M. S. Vesuvius, to PRISCILLA WOODHOUSE RODGERS, of Portsea.